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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this case study is to provide a description and an interpretation of the process by which State-level policy decisions are made for the public schools of Georgia. The report begins with brief treatments of the socioeconomic environment and political culture in which education takes place. State governmental arrangements for public school policymaking are then described. Next, recent State policy decisions in four educational issue areas are reviewed to illustrate the operation of the system. Following this review, the essential roles, relationships, and perceptions of the different actors are analyzed. An interpretation of the policymaking process concludes the case study. The data for this case study were derived from interviews, questionnaires, documents, and secondary sources. The research took place during 1972-73. (Author)

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STATE POLICY MAKING FOR THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF GEORGIA

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This report is one of twelve case studies growing out of the Educational Governance Project. In addition, two major reports, a comparative analysis across states and an explication of alternative models of state governance of education, are in preparation. The Governance Project began in January, 1972 and is to be completed in August, 1974. The work was funded by the U. S. Office of Education Act (OEG-0-73-0499). The Policy Board for the Project was composed of three chief state school officers: Martin W. Essex of Ohio, Jack P. Nix of Georgia, and Ewald B. Nyquist of New York, with the State of Ohio serving as fiscal agent. An Advisory Committee composed of eleven persons concerned with general and educational governance also served the Project. Contract for the work was let to the College of Education, The Ohio State University and Roald F. Campbell and Tim L. Mazzoni, Jr. were the directors.

January, 1974

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this case study is to provide a description and interpretation of the process by which state-level policy decisions are made for the public schools of Georgia. The report begins with brief treatments of the socioeconomic environment and political culture in which education takes place. State governmental arrangements for public school policy making are then described. Next, recent state policy decisions in four educational issue areas are reviewed to illustrate the operation of the system. Following this, the essential roles, relationships, and perceptions of the different actors are analyzed. An interpretation of the policy making process concludes the case study. The data for this case study were derived from interviews, questionnaires, documents, and secondary sources. The research took place during 1972-1973.[1]

CONTEXT FOR STATE EDUCATION POLICY MAKING

Education policy making does not occur in a vacuum. To understand the policy making process requires that some attention be directed towards the environment in which it takes place. Thus, the geographic, socioeconomic, and political characteristics of Georgia are the concerns of this first section.

Geography

Georgia divides geographically into three distinct regions: The Appalachian Region, the Piedmont Region, and the Coastal Plains Region,

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT REGIONS IN GEORGIA[2]

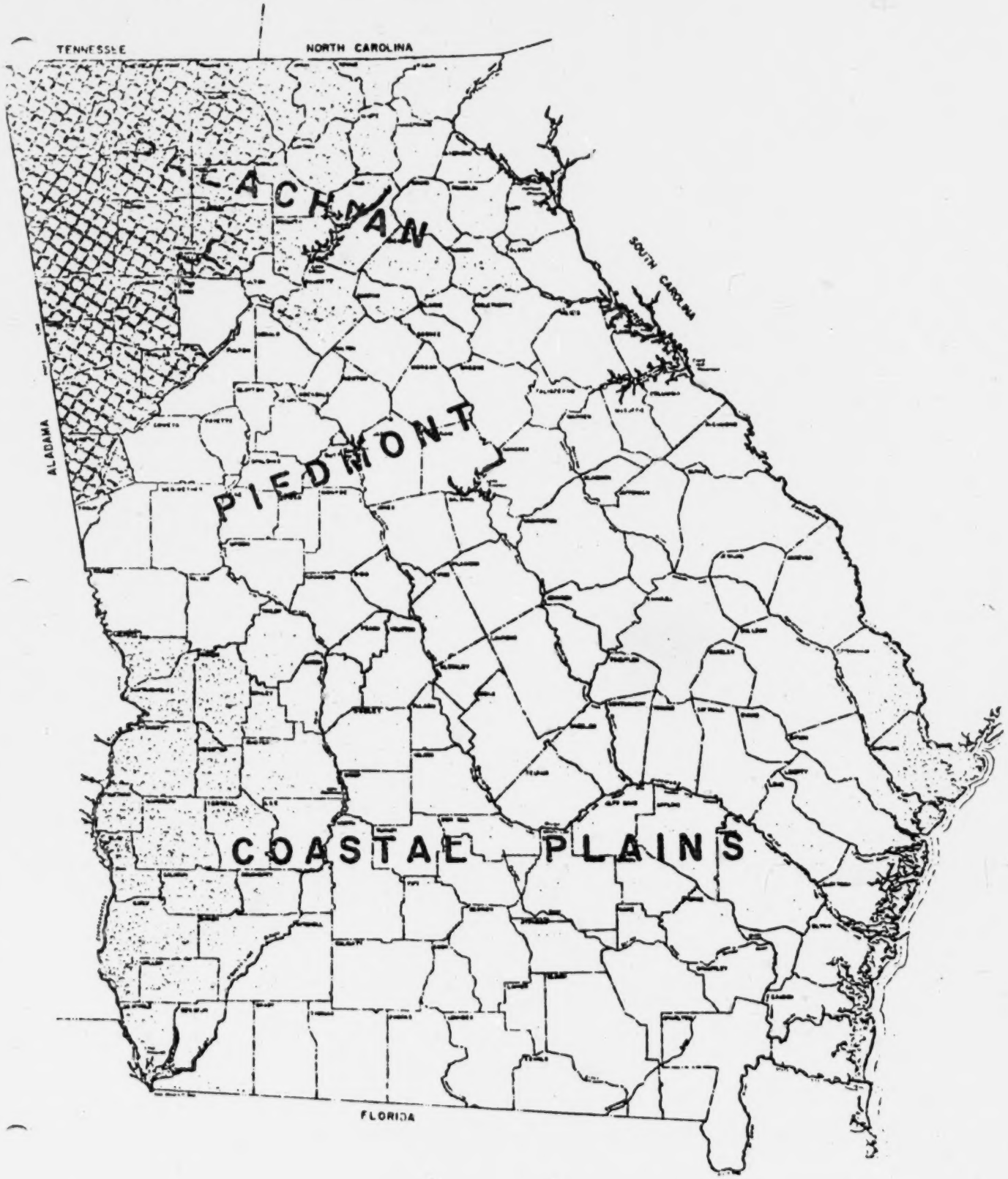

Figure 1

as shown in Figure 1. The Appalachian Region is composed of the Blue Ridge Mountain area. In addition to providing a natural habitat for wildlife, this area constitutes a major timber and recreation resource. The mountains are the source of the water supply for over one-third of the population of the state. This rugged tract is the largest undeveloped mountain wilderness in Georgia.

The Piedmont Region, which includes Atlanta, is a rapidly growing area. There are a number of natural environmental corridors in the region: the Chattahoochee River, the Alcovy River, the Oconee River, the Savannah River, and the Pine Mountain-Flint River complex. The western portion of the Pine Mountain serves as a backdrop for large scale recreation developments such as Callaway Gardens and the Franklin Roosevelt State Park.

In the Coastal Plains Region, the important natural features occur along the principal riverways and along the coast. Because of the generally low elevations, the region is characterized by extremely slow water run-off. The Okefenokee Swamp is one of the three outstanding environmental resources of the Coast Plain--the others are Georgia's Atlantic Coast and the Altmaha River.[2]

Socioeconomic Conditions

Agriculture was the principal occupation of the people of Georgia until after World War II when the acceleration of mechanized farming reduced the farm population and the state underwent rapid industrialization. Loss of income from cotton was more than replaced by income from such new crops as tobacco, peanuts, poultry, livestock, and forestry products. The state ranks first nationally in the production of peanuts. The most spectacular development in Georgia's agriculture has

been the rapid rise of the poultry industry, particularly broiler chickens, during the last thirty years. Other cash crops of importance in Georgia are peaches, watermelons, and pecans. Because of soil limitations and topography, much of the agriculture of the state is concentrated in the Coastal Plains Region. The mountainous Appalachian Region is oriented toward poultry and livestock production. In the Piedmont Region soils are very susceptible to erosion and row crops are restricted except under controlled situations.[3]

The total annual value of Georgia's manufactured goods, by the second half of the twentieth century, was more than twice that of agricultural products. The largest single manufactured product was textiles. Lumber products ranked second. Many large national concerns have located near Georgia's larger urban centers in recent years. For example, Cobb County, which is part of the Atlanta complex, is the home of Lockheed Aircraft Company. A large number of military installations play a role in the Georgia economy. Fort Benning, Warner Robins Air Force Base, Camp Stewart, and Camp Gordon are located within the state. Georgians are very much aware of the stimulus that federal dollars provides to the economy. Whenever discussions concerning phasing out, closing down, or reorganizing military installations appears in the news it raises more than average apprehension in this state.

Despite the impact of industrialization, the median family income in Georgia in 1970 was only $8,167, a figure nearly $1,500 below the national average.[4] The per capita income figure for the year 1968 was $2,781, which was $640 less than the national average of $3,421 for that year.[5] The southern part of Georgia, generally has had a lower per capita income (by about $500) than the more northern sections. The areas with the highest income per capita are in the urban complexes of Atlanta, Macon, Columbus, and Augusta.[6]

In educational attainment, as measured by conventional indices, Georgia residents still do not fare well relative to the rest of the country. The median years of school completed by Georgians in 1970, was 10.8 years compared to the national average of 12.1 years. The median years of school completed by blacks in Georgia was 8.0 years. While 40 per cent of Georgia's population had completed four years of high school, the national average was 52.3 per cent.[7]

Many changes, of course, are taking place in social conditions and in economic resources of the state. A recent study concluded that improvements in the areas of income, employment, and health have been faster in Georgia than comparable figures for the nation. But the same study indicated that Georgia has not kept pace with the rest of the nation in the areas of environmental quality, traffic safety, and racial equality.[8]

Population Trends

From 1950 to 1970, the Georgia population grew by 33 per cent, from 3,445,000 to 4,589,569.[9] In the decade of the 1950's the state growth rate was 14.5 per cent, 4 per cent less than the national rate. In the 1960's, however, the state growth rate rose to 16 per cent, 3 per cent greater than the nation as a whole. Consequently, Georgia moved from the 16th most populous state to the 15th.[10] Like most of the nation, Georgia is becoming more urban. In 1950 the state was predominantly rural (55 per cent), whereas the nation was 36 per cent rural. By 1970 the state had begun to reflect national trends; the nation was 74 per cent urban while Georgia was 60 per cent urban.[11] Most of this urban population is concentrated in five metropolitan areas: Atlanta, Savannah, Columbus, Macon, and Augusta.

The total nonwhite population of Georgia in 1970 was 1,184,062. Between 1960 and 1970 the percentage of nonwhites in the United States increased by 2 per cent, while in Georgia nonwhites decreased by 2.5 per cent.[12] The statewide drop in percentage of the nonwhite population was due to migration; 126,400 nonwhites left the state between 1960 and 1970, while 207,600 whites entered the state.

Looking at these trends in terms of Georgia's main geographic regions reveals that most population growth has occurred in the Piedmont Region, which contains the Atlanta metropolitan area. Between 1960 and 1970 the Piedmont population rose by some 27 per cent as compared to the Appalachian Region's increase of 20 per cent and the Coastal Plains Region's increase of only 6 per cent.[13] In terms of racial composition, the Coastal Plains Region is 33.1 per cent nonwhite, about 7 per cent greater than the state figure of 26 per cent. The Piedmont region is only slightly above the state average in terms of nonwhites, and the Appalachian Region, at 8.3 per cent, is almost 18 per cent below the state average.[14]

The so-called black belt in Georgia reaches to Atlanta on the north and runs in a southwestern to northeastern pattern across the center of the state. The counties with the smallest percentage of black population are located in the northern part of the state and in the southeast area of the state. The black belt includes most of what was once plantation country. Except for the few city and suburban counties where significant growth took place during the last two decades, the black belt and the area south and east of the black belt are the poor, rural sections. This is sometimes referred to as "static" Georgia. The northern metropolitan and urban areas where much of the growth has taken place have been referred to as "dynamic" Georgia.

In general, during the past twenty years, Georgia has been keeping pace with the national population trends. Whether or not Georgia can maintain or improve upon the quality of life in the state remains to be seen. Dramatic increases in population similar to those experienced in Florida and California could severely tax public resources and destroy many aspects of the environment. While overall population densities in the state are still relatively low (79 people per square mile) and a healthy balance exists between the rural and urban segments of Georgia's society, projections for urban growth in the future indicate this may change.

Political Culture

Daniel Elazar has examined the political cultures that are found in the several states.[15] He contends that the political culture of the United States is itself a synthesis of three major political subcultures--the individualistic, moralistic, and traditionalistic. In an individualistic political culture government is popularly conceived of as a marketplace in which policies emerge from the bargaining of individuals and groups acting out of self-interest. Governmental intervention in matters regarded as private (e.g., business enterprise) is limited, politics is viewed only as a tool for individual social and economic improvement, political parties seek to control office primarily to distribute rewards to party loyalists, and political activity is carried on by professional politicians. In a moralistic political culture, people believe that government exists to advance the shared interest of all citizens rather than their separate private interest. Since government exists to advance the shared public interest, it is believed that every citizen should participate. A traditionalistic political

culture is based on a paternalistic and elitist conception of government. Political power is reserved for a small and self-perpetuating elite with a "right" to govern because of family or social position, the role of government is to preserve the established social order, the preference is for a single political party (often divided into factions) that fills public positions with persons sympathetic to elitist policies, and the average citizen is not expected to participate in politics (not even to vote), but to accept passively the will of the ruling oligarchy.

According to Elazar, most of Georgia may be classified as traditionalistic. The Appalachian area in the northern part of the state is classified as a mixture of traditionalistic and moralistic. It remains to be seen if the growing urbanization and changes in Georgia politics which have occurred in the 1960's will move the state away from the strong traditionalistic tendencies of the past. Persons who have analyzed the political culture of Georgia include Joseph Bernd,[16] Albert Saye,[17] V. O. Key, Jr.,[18] and Brett Hawkins.[19] Many of their findings will be noted in the following discussion.

In explaining the political culture of Georgia one is struck by the highly personal style of the state's politics. Eugene Talmadge, who ran five times for governor and three times for Commissioner of Agriculture during the period 1926 to 1946, exemplifies the personal approach. He won the governorship four times and the agriculture post three times. He led a cohesive, personal faction that, with his death in 1946, transferred its allegiance to his son Herman Talmadge.[20]

The Talmadge phenomenon meant that the voters from 1932 into the 1950's divided on the basis of pro and anti-Talmadge factions. Talmadge built an enduring following and forced the politics of the state into the semblance of a bipartisan mold. The greatest sentiment for Talmadge

was in the southcentral part of the state. Senator Herman Talmadge remained the major political force on the Georgia scene into the late fifties and the early sixties. Thereafter, new political figures gradually emerged such as Governors Sanders, Maddox, and Carter. In Washington, Senator Richard Russell played the dominant role during much of this period.

But there is another side to Georgia politics. The gentility of many southerners, particularly of those who belong to or identify with the old families is as much a part of the culture of the region as the hell-of-a-fellow type. An attitude of noblesse oblige toward the Negro often characterizes the genteel southerner, whose heroes are Robert E. Lee or Thomas Jefferson rather than Tom Watson or other fire eaters.[21] Eugene Talmadge was too cantankerous for this type of southerner. (Talmadge could be decorous when he wanted to but he seldom wanted to be when newspapermen were around him--and besides, under the county unit system there were a lot more votes to be won by rabble-rousing.)

The enemy of the genteel southerner is the "white trash," usually referred to in Georgia with the prefix "pore." The genteel southerner demonstrates his superiority to the pore white trash by holding a tolerant, paternalistic view of the black.[22] This group formed the backbone of the anti-Talmadge forces during most of the 1940's and 1950's. They supported Carl Sanders in the election in 1962. Businessmen, particularly in the cities and larger towns, have often been identified with the moderate view of the "genteel people" or "better element," as they have been called.[23] The three traditions that marked the Talmadge era and especially the earlier were: 1) rabble-rousing versus genteelism, 2) the cleavage of farmers and city folks, and 3) the ever-recurrent question of race.[24]

It is the urban-rural cleavage more than anything else that explains the sectionalism in Georgia. The county unit system that prevailed for years in Georgia encouraged candidates to reinforce the already sensitive rural voter's feelings toward big city folks.[25] This urban-rural phenomenon is still a major issue in Georgia today as highlighted by the phrase "Maddox Country" in referring to the rural sections of Georgia. One still notes the phrases "the big city candidate" or "the farmer's candidate" when looking at Georgia politics.

Two events of importance in understanding the current political system in Georgia occurred during the 1960's. The first of these was the abolition of the county unit system of election for all state officers. The Neill Primary Act of 1917 had required any party holding a primary election to nominate candidates for state offices to compute the vote on a county unit basis, giving the unit vote of each county to the candidate who received the largest popular vote therein. Technically, it is inaccurate to describe the county unit system as a system for electing officers, for it applied only to the nomination of candidates in party primaries, but inasmuch as the nominees of the Democratic party were consistently victorious in the general election the unit system actually determined the outcome of elections.

Industrialization and the growth of cities in the twentieth century was not accompanied by a modification in the voting strength of counties in metropolitan centers in either the legislature or the election of state executive and judicial officers. Failure to modify the county unit system to reflect changes in population distribution brought the system under attack. The county unit system as it existed was overturned in April of 1962 (U. S. District Court, Sanders v. Gray, 203 F. Supp. 158, 1962).[26]

The results of this decision are not yet clear. Since the county unit system was outlawed, the state politics have been conservative in direction and the voters in the urban counties, excepting for their support of Governor Carl Sanders in 1962, have usually cast a majority or plurality of their ballots for the loser in gubernatorial primaries. Often the city vote has been sharply divided. The urban counties of south and middle Georgia have voted more conservatively than those in the Atlanta area.[27] While the end of the county unit system may not have meant more liberal politics in Georiga, there have been some notable changes. If Georgia voted for an ultraconservative racist in Lester Maddox, it did not get one in Governor Lester Maddox. Maddox did not try to block court-ordered desegregation. If James Carter, elected governor in 1970, appeared more conservative than his opponent, Carl Sanders, he certainly laid this notion to rest with his inaugural plea, carried over national television, for tolerance and justice.[28] If nothing else, the end of the county unit system has brought more city candidates into the race for governor. Of the seven principal candidates in the last three gubernatorial campaigns, four (Sanders twice, Maddox, and Suit) have been city residents.[29]

The second major political change occurring in the 1960's was the reapportionment of the Georgia legislature. Reapportionment in Georgia, which was required in 1962 by a U. S. District Court case (Toombs v. Fortson, 205 F. Supp. 248, 1962, in Georgia followed the U. S. Supreme Court case of Baker v. Carr, 369 U. S. 186, 1962) has resulted in greater representation within the Georgia legislature of urban and sub-urban legislators.[30] Reapportionment has lowered the age of Georgia legislators, especially in the Senate, where the average age was reduced from 51 to 35.[31] Perhaps the most striking change accompanying

reapportionment was the increase in the number of blacks in the legislature. The state's first black since Reconstruction was elected to the Senate after reapportionment in 1962. Eight blacks were elected in 1966, the largest number serving in any state legislature for that year.[32]

Reapportionment has particularly helped the Republican party in Georgia; the GOP strength has been strongest in the Atlanta suburbs and in the cities of Augusta, Savannah, and Macon. Prior to reapportionment the Republicans held only two seats in the House, both in rural areas. After reapportionment they held 23 seats. All but 5 of these 23 House seats came from the metropolitan counties of Bibb (Macon), Richmond (Augusta), Cobb, DeKalb and Fulton (Atlanta). It should be added that the political emergence of the Republican party has been a stimulus to voter turnout in Georgia. In many past elections the turnout for the Democratic primary in the governor's race exceeded that for the general election. But such was not the case in the gubernatorial elections in 1966 and 1970. This change in political behavior has come, in part, from the growth of the Republican party in Georgia during the decade of the 60's, a growth that has produced two Republican congressmen from Atlanta and a Republican mayor in Macon.

It would probably be a mistake to state that Georgia politics have outgrown all of the traditions of the past, but the signs of change are evident in the political system. While the race issue in political campaigns is not dead, it appears that most of the recent governors have consciously attempted to avoid the ordeal which other southern states experienced in the late 1950's and early 1960's. Reapportionment has brought more black and urban legislators into state level politics. The progress of the Republican party has made for a more competitive attitude toward general elections as compared to the previous situation

where elections were determined in Democratic primaries. The attitude of the business and professional community of Atlanta in attempting to project an image of moderation and progress for the city and state has also had an effect on state level politics.

Summary

In summary, the era following World War II has been a period of change in Georgia. The changes in political life were significant: the county unit electoral system was abolished, both houses of the legislature were reapportioned on a one-man-one-vote formula, and the Republican party became a force. But the changes of the era were not limited to politics. They included also sweeping social and economic changes: racial segregation in schools and in public accommodations gave way; urban population surpassed the rural population in both total size and rate of growth, and more than a million persons were employed in industry; cotton gave way to peanuts as the leading cash crop and, in fact, cotton lagged behind tobacco and corn in cash value, while poultry and livestock outstripped crops in general as a source of farm income; personal income increased six-fold (from $2 billion in 1945 to $12 billion in 1968); and average daily attendance in the elementary and high schools almost doubled (from 545,480 in 1945 to over 1,000,000 in 1971).[33]

Socioeconomic and political factors pointed out in this brief review that could influence educational decision makers would include the following: a growing population and one that is becoming more urban, a work force that is less dependent on agriculture, the beginnings of a two party system, and a legislature that reflects urban and suburban interests.

STRUCTURE FOR STATE EDUCATION POLICY MAKING

We now turn to a brief description of the formal structure of state government in Georgia. The Governor's Office and the Legislature constitute part of this structure. These instrumentalities affect education as they do other public functions in the state. In addition, we shall look at the State Board of Education, the State Superintendent of Schools, and the State Department of Education. These three are often referred to as the State Education Agency.

Legislature

In Georgia the General Assembly is composed of a House of Representatives (180 members) and Senate (56 members) with members being elected for two-year terms. The large size of the Georgia General Assembly is particularly worth noting. Of the ten states with populations comparable to that of Georgia, three million to five million, only one other state, Minnesota, has over 200 legislators. A Georgia Citizens' Committee which studied the General Assembly in 1970 commented on this problem of size in the following manner:

> Benefits which can be predicted from reducing the size of the General Assembly include enhanced prestige and responsibility of members; more effective organization and deliberation; greater likelihood of increases in salaries, working space, and staff support; and, in general, greater attractiveness to highly qualified candidates.[34]

The Citizens' Committee recommended that the size of the General Assembly be reduced so that there would be no more than 150 members in the House and 50 members in the Senate.

Though the Georgia General Assembly meets annually, the number of meeting days in each session are limited. The General Assembly meets for 45 days in odd numbered years and for 40 days in even numbered years. Given the fact that 2,000 bills and resolutions have been introduced in each of the recent sessions, one wonders how much serious consideration can be given to that volume of proposed legislation.[35] It should be pointed out that since Georgia has very weak provisions for home rule in its Constitution, well over 50 per cent of these bills or resolutions pertain to local matters. As a result of this heavy emphasis on local matters one researcher has described the Georgia legislature as a "provincial institution."[36]

The Georgia Constitution establishes minimum compensation and expense allowances for legislators, but it also allows the legislature to set higher salaries. Members of both houses of the General Assembly receive the same compensation, an annual salary of $4,200 ($350 per month). In addition, each member receives $25 per day as an expense allowance for each day of regular or special sessions of the legislature and for each day spent on committee work between sessions. The biennial or two year salary in other states ranges from a high of $48,950 in California to a low of $200 in New Hampshire.[37] Although Georgia compensates its legislators at a higher rate than 26 states, it still is not providing a level of compensation warranted by Georgia's growth and population, according to the Georgia Citizens' Committee (legislative salaries will increase in July of 1973).

In Georgia, as in most states, there are only a handful of general legislative officers: namely the President, (Lieutenant Governor), the President Pro Tempore, and the Secretary of the Senate; and the Speaker, the Speaker Pro Tempore, and the Clerk of the House of Representatives.

In addition to these constitutionally established officers, there are legislative leaders such as the majority and minority leaders and whips, chosen by party caucuses, and administration floor leaders chosen by the Governor.

The Lieutenant Governor and the Speaker, by authority of Senate and House Rules, make all committee appointments and determine all committee chairmanships. In Georgia, a tradition has developed whereby the legislative leadership consults legislators, legislative factions, party floor leaders, and interest group spokesmen prior to making final committee and chairmanship appointments. The standing committees of both houses are established by the House and Senate rules adopted at the beginning of each session. It is through these committees that most of the work of the General Assembly is carried on. The Senate rules provide for 25 standing committees and the House rules provide for 27 standing committees. Unlike some state legislatures or the U. S. Congress, there is no requirement in either house of the Georgia General Assembly for minority party representation on standing committees. The fact that all committee chairmen were Democrats brought about a heated exchange between the two parties early (January) in the 1973 session.

Most committees in the Georgia legislature are quite large. The size of committees that handle nearly all education legislation (Education and Appropriations) are listed below:

		Appropriations Committee	Education Committee
Senate	1971	32 Members	12 Members
	1973	32 Members	12 Members
House	1971	42 Members	45 Members
	1973	44 Members	37 Members

Many observers feel that the power of the Appropriations Committee has increased substantially in the last six years. This increase has

come about because the governors, since Carl Sanders (1966), have had less party control and thus have had less influence in determining membership of committees. Prior to that time the Appropriations Committee was often little more than a rubber stamp for the governors' budget requests.

When an education bill is introduced in either house, it is assigned to the Education Committee after its first reading. In the case of a controversial issue, a public hearing may be held to allow all interested persons an opportunity to express their views on the measure before the committee. The committee may also call on executive officials and any other persons to testify on the bill or to furnish information. These requests are made frequently of the State Department of Education when an education bill is involved. This will generally lead to the State Superintendent or to one of the assistant superintendents from the State Department providing oral or written testimony in support of or in opposition to the bill.

After the committee has decided what course of action it will take on the measure, the bill and a written report are referred back to the appropriate house. If the committee report recommends that the bill not pass, and the House votes in favor of this unfavorable committee report, the bill is dead for the session. In actual practice the House members rarely vote against the report submitted by the committee on a particular piece of legislation. Usually, an unfavorable committee report on a suggested piece of legislation will kill it.

The legislative committees are assisted in carrying out their duties by the Legislative Services Committee. The specified duties of this group include: providing services and facilities, including legislative counseling, bill drafting, and legislative reference materials to every

member of the legislature. The office of Legislative Counsel is set up to help the Legislative Services Committee carry out its functions.

The immediate staff of most committees consist of one secretary and one legislative aide assigned to the committee. One of the chief complaints of Georgia legislators was that the committees did not have an adequate staff to do their work. While the General Assembly is in session, typists are made available to the Legislature on a pool basis for the general use of members and committees. Legislative leaders are provided with individual secretarial and clerical help. The Education Committees in the Senate and House can also make use of the Georgia Educational Improvement Council (GEIC). This body is under the authority of the legislature, conducts studies at its direction, and compiles reports concerning education in Georgia. The full-time staff of the organization consists of a director, legislative administrative assistant, and a secretary. The budget for the GEIC in 1972 consisted of $55,000.

In Georgia, many members of the General Assembly are not provided with individual office space. However, individual offices are made available to legislative leaders: the President and President Pro Tempore of the Senate; the Speaker and Speaker Pro Tempore of the House of Representatives; the majority and minority party leaders of both houses; and the Administration Leader of the Senate. Neither house provides all Committee chairmen with individual offices, nor does either house provide individual rooms for each of its standing committees. Committee meeting rooms are usually shared.

Georgia's legislature is heavily Democratic. If we examine Ranney's Index of Inter-party competition (1956-1970), we find only five states that had a legislature more dominated by the Democrats. They were Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas.[38]

Reapportionment and increased Republican activity in the state have produced the beginnings of a two-party legislature in Georgia. Republican strength in Georgia is concentrated (except for a few North Georgia rural counties) in the urban and suburban areas of the state. Reapportionment, by increasing the representation of these areas in the General Assembly, resulted in increased Republican membership. The party alignment for the 1973-74 session in the General Assembly was as follows: in the Senate 49 Democrats and 7 Republicans; in the House 152 Democrats, 27 Republicans and 1 independent. Republicans thus hold 15 per cent of the House seats and 14 per cent of the Senate seats.

The traditional one-party domination of Georgia politics has had the consequence of reducing the role of parties in the state. Malcolm Jewell summarizes the effects of this kind of one-party rule in state legislatures as follows:

> In a one-party state the legislature is likely to be irresponsible. Power may be widely dispersed among many groups in the legislature or it may be concentrated in the governor's hands. In either case, legislative decisions are likely to be made as a result of deals--among the members, with the governor, or with pressure groups, deals of which the public is ignorant. In a one-party state, legislative candidates often run unopposed; even when there is competition, they do not stand for anything in the public mind. The legislators have no mandate--either for a program or for support of the administration; consequently they are free to make whatever deals are necessary and possible in the state legislature.[39]

Of course, two-party competition cannot be established by fiat, and it is quite evident that it will be some time before the Georgia legislature has a full blown two-party structure.

More complete party organization in the General Assembly has gained some impetus from two sources: (1) the increased strength of the minority party, and (2) the desire for "legislative independence" in relationships with the executive branch. The recent increased number of Republicans has made party organization possible. Their small numbers foster the

desire to "stick together" and makes communication and cohesiveness easier than in a larger delegation.[40] The presence of an organized minority has also stimulated a greater degree of "party awareness" among Democrats. The Democratic party organization has also been strengthened as a result of the movement for "legislative independence."

The failure of the electoral process to name a Governor in November of 1966 presented the General Assembly with the opportunity to organize itself without the usual administration (Governor) influence. The House Majority met and chose nominees for Speaker of the House and Speaker Pro Tempore and also other party leaders. The Democratic legislators would, no doubt, have taken the initiative in organizing themselves if the minority party had not existed, but it is significant that the "independence" movement was expressed through party structure.[41] Party organization in both houses has been affected by use of the caucus. The caucus is also used to discuss legislative aims and may be called upon from time to time to establish party positions on specific legislative proposals.

In looking at legislators, generally, one finds that they do not represent a microcosm of the general public. Specifically, most legislators are recruited from a relatively narrow social base and stand well above their constituents in occupational status, educational achievement, and personal income. Furthermore, the typical American legislator is male, white, protestant, middle-aged, and of Anglo-Saxon origin. The composition of the Georgia General Assembly is highly consistent with the image. A study of the occupations of Georgia legislators conducted in 1968 revealed that the vast majority of legislators were businessmen, lawyers, and farmers. This study also noted that "almost never does someone identified with labor appear." The study concluded that the

General Assembly has been and is to a considerable extent a businessman's legislature; and it is strikingly a small town and middle-sized town businessman's legislature.[42] Thomas R. Dye found that 57 per cent of Georgia legislators, but only 6 per cent of all Georgians, had college degrees.[43]

Some evidence suggests that the Georgia legislature does not always reflect the attitudes of the public. In a poll that was commissioned by the Georgia Senate Committee on Economy, Reorganization and Efficiency in Government (1969), the following citizen attitudes were uncovered: (1) About 60 per cent of those sampled (N=584) felt that the state was not doing enough in the fields of medical aid for the poor and the aged, alcoholic rehabilitation, and special education programs; (2) an overwhelming majority of citizens (85%) supported a sales tax increase with exemptions for food and medicine (such legislation did not pass in 1969); (3) almost seven out of ten Georgians agreed that the tax system was inequitable (the state legislature enacted no tax reform in 1969); (4) forty-five per cent of those sampled felt that government was run for the few as opposed to the many; and (5) one-third of the sample ranked low their perceived ability to influence public officials.[44] We have, of course, no way of knowing how citizens in other states would stand on these same matters.

Let us summarize by briefly restating the chief points we have made about the Georgia legislature: (1) the legislature has an unusually large membership; (2) relatively low compensation of the members probably narrows the base with respect to those who can afford to seek office; (3) each standing committee is relatively loosely organized and does not follow formal rules; (4) staff provisions are inadequate for individual members as well as for standing committees; (5) the lack of a competitive

two-party system probably serves as a deterrent to efficient and responsible organization within the legislature; and (6) often the attitudes of the legislators appear not to be congruent with those of the general public. Unsurprisingly, the Citizen Conference ranked the Georgia Legislature 45th among the states on its composite measure of "technical effectiveness." (This measure is based on five dimensions: functionality, accountability, informedness, independence, and representativeness.)[45]

Governor

The Governor of Georgia has constitutional powers comparable to those of the governors of many other states. The Constitution vests "the executive power" in this office but does not define the term. However, a number of powers are specifically stated: he "shall take care that the laws are faithfully executed"; he shall issue writs of election to fill all vacancies in the legislature; and he may require information in writing from all state employees "on any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices of employment." Under the statutory law, the Governor is named Director of the Budget and vested with extensive control over the finances of the state.[46]

Joseph Schlesinger has constructed an index based on four indicators for assessing the formal powers of the state governors. The four indicators are: tenure potential, appointive powers, veto powers, and budget powers. These indicators were assigned a range of scores from one to five and a composite score was developed for each state.[47] The Georgia governor was given a score of 14 points on this index which was slightly below the average score of 15. While this score on formal powers may be indicative, it does not necessarily take account of other sources of power, such as the governor's image, past record, style, and other intangibles.

The Governor's term is for four years, but he is not allowed to succeed himself in office. This limitation seems to weaken his control over many aspects of state government. This may be exacerbated by the fact that the Governor has very little formal authority to remove officials from office. Moreover, the one term limitation appears to contribute to a great deal of maneuvering and faction-building within the legislature among aspirants to the governorship.

The Governor's powers of appointment are limited. As is true in some other states, constitutional executives officers (Secretary of State, Attorney General, State School Superintendent, Comptroller General, Treasurer, Commissioner of Agriculture, and Commissioner of Labor), who are comparable to members of the President's cabinet in our national government, are elected by popular vote. Such appointive powers as the Governor possesses are largely confined to statutory officials and to the filling of vacancies caused by death, resignation, or disabilities. Even these major appointments require senatorial confirmation.

The Georgia Governor possesses strong veto power in that he exercises a line item veto and it takes a two-thirds majority of both houses to override his veto. While the Governor has budget powers, the General Assembly since 1962 has also exercised considerable control over the budget. The Assembly has greatly restricted the freedom of the executive agencies to transfer funds among object classes and it has taken increasing initiative in altering the Governor's budget recommendations. The General Assembly has employed a legislative budget officer, and the State Auditor has added to his staff two analysts who do budget research for the Appropriations Committee. It should further be pointed out that while the State Superintendent of Schools works cooperatively with the Governor's office on budget matters, he does submit a separate budget

to the legislature, one that can reflect different priorities than those specified by the Governor.

The Governor's personal staff also appeared to be quite limited in number for a state which is 15th in size with respect to population. The Governor's staff provisions relative to education and school finance was largely centered in one individual, Larry Gess. Mr. Gess's title was Senior Planner for Education. He formerly was an Assistant Professor of Education at Georgia State University. Nellie Hoenes provided additional staff support; she worked as a budget analyst in the area of education.

Mr. Gess is not a native Georgian and some respondents felt that this fact had been something of an obstacle in his relationships with the legislature and the SDE. Mr. Gess has zealously advanced Governor Carter's ideas in proposed bills and statements to the legislature and to the SDE. His efforts in the area of revising the Minimum Foundation Program have not been greeted with enthusiasm within the education establishment (i.e., key legislators, GAE officials, and SDE administrators).

In summary, while the formal powers of the governor in Georgia to control or influence the system are quite limited, his informal role due to personal popularity and other factors can be quite significant. We might point out here, and this will be more apparent later, that Governor Carter's desire to influence and change the system, at least in some areas, has exceeded his formal ability to do so and this has led to stress in the system.

The State Board of Education

The State Board of Education in Georgia is composed of ten members, one from each Congressional District in the state. Members are appointed

by the Governor, by and with the consent of the Senate. The Governor himself is prohibited from serving on the State Board. All appointments are for seven-year overlapping terms. In the case of a vacancy on the Board, caused by death, resignation, or from any other cause other than the expiration of term, the Board by secret ballot selects a board member. This member holds office until the end of the next session of the General Assembly. During such session of the General Assembly, the Governor shall nominate a person for the unexpired term and submit his name to the Senate for confirmation.

Members of the State Board of Education in Georgia must be citizens of the state, and must have lived in Georgia continuously for at least five years preceding their appointment. No person employed in a professional capacity by a private or public educational institution, or by the State Department of Education, is eligible for appointment to the State Board. This restriction also holds for persons who have been connected with or who are employed by a school book publishing concern. This latter provision probably derives from the fact that the Georgia State Board of Education is responsible for statewide textbook adoptions, and "conflict of interest" would be possible.

The State Board of Education is granted "such powers and duties as provided by law for the provision of an adequate education for all citizens of the State of Georgia."[48] It is the responsibility of the Board to adopt policies that set the framework within which the State Superintendent of Schools, local boards of education, and local superintendents are to function. The State Board of Education in Georgia is a constitutional policy making legislative body (within the limits of the statutes), as well as a state administrative agency. In addition to its primary responsibilities for adopting policies, the State Board is also charged

by law with the scheduling and conducting of appeals involving local boards of education.

The members of the State Board must take an oath of office for the faithful performance of their duties and an oath of allegiance to the Federal and State Constitutions. No individual member is vested with the authority to commit the full Board or the State Department. State Board meetings are held monthly in the Department of Education and a quorum consists of a majority (six or more) of the members.

The State Superintendent serves as the Executive Secretary of the Board, and as such, is vested with responsibility for the administration and execution of Board policy. Officers of the Board include the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman, the Vice-Chairman for Appeals, and the Parliamentarian. The Parliamentarian is selected by the Chairman, and all of the other officers are elected by the Board and serve one-year terms.

Major powers of the SBE may be paraphrased as follows:

1. Establish rules and regulations; approve courses of study; approve curriculum revisions; administer the state school funds.
2. Provide, by regulation, for certifying all teachers and other professional personnel.
3. Establish a minimum salary schedule.
4. Determine building needs and adopt building standards.
5. Provide for the transportation of pupils.
6. Accept Federal funds.[49]

The State Board of Education has a formal relationship with the Governor's office, the Senate, and the State Superintendent of Schools. The Governor appoints Board members subject to ratification by the Senate. The State Superintendent serves as Executive Secretary of the State Board. Other than these specific ties, there does not appear to be

other formal relationships that directly affect the State Board of Education.

The State Superintendent of Schools

The State Superintendent of Schools in Georgia is the Executive Officer of the State Board of Education. In addition, as a constitutional officer, he is elected at the same time, in the same manner, and for the same length of term as the Governor and other statewide officers. He has an office at the seat of government and is charged with the administration of the school laws and general supervision of business relating to the common schools.

To be eligible to hold the office of State Superintendent in Georgia, a person must be of good moral character, of high educational standing, have had at least three years practical experience as a teacher, have completed a five-year or master's degree program from an accredited college or university, and be at least 30 years of age. He must also take and subscribe to an oath to diligently and faithfully discharge the duties of his office according to State and Federal Constitutions and statutes.

The State Superintendent, as Executive Secretary of the State Board, serves as the administrator of all policies approved by that Board. The Superintendent recommends to the SBE an organizational plan for the State Department of Education for their approval. The Superintendent establishes regulations and procedures for the carrying out of SBE policy.

Proposals for new policies or changes in policies which are initiated outside of the Department of Education are usually submitted to the State Superintendent to provide the opportunity for study by the professional staff of the Department and for securing the counsel of groups to be

affected by such changes prior to presentation to the State Board for official consideration.

The State Superintendent of Schools in Georgia has many policy related responsibilities. He establishes regulations and administrative procedures which include all specific requirements called for in Federal law. In addition, the Georgia policies and executive procedures specifically outline his responsibilities pertaining to the General Assembly:

> ....The State Superintendent shall counsel with members of the General Assembly, especially with those committees directly concerned with education; and must provide information and interpret it to them.[50]

He may advise on proposed laws and proposed revisions to existing statutes, and recommend the removal of obsolete statutes. The State Superintendent of Schools must present to the State Board, no later than July, his recommendations for the annual budget which, in turn, is to be presented to the Governor and the General Assembly with all necessary supporting data.

The State Superintendent in Georgia is responsible for execution of all policies adopted by the State Board of Education. He has as his professional staff the State Department of Education. He has much latitude in the execution of his responsibilities. He also has legal approval and sanction for influencing and cooperating with members of the General Assembly to affect policy action designed to improve the educational enterprise.

Since the State Superintendent is a constitutional officer elected by popular vote, he is constitutionally independent of the Governor. Although he must submit the Department's budget proposal to the Governor, he also has the opportunity to appear before the General Assembly to present his views on the budget.

The State Superintendent in Georgia has numerous statutory duties, as indicated in a summary of code provisions below:

a. Administration of the school laws
b. General superintendence of the business relating to the common schools
c. Prescription of suitable forms for reports required of subordinate school officials and blanks for their guidance in transacting their official business
d. Preparation and transmittal to subordinate school officials of such instructions as he may deem necessary for the faithful and efficient execution of the school laws
e. Enforcement of all policies and regulations of the State Board and the laws governing the schools receiving state aid
f. Recommending to the State Board policies that may affect the welfare and efficiency of the public schools
g. Visitation, as often as possible, to the several counties to examine the administration of school law, counsel with school officials, deliver addresses, inspect school operations and perform such other functions as he may deem to be in the interest of public education
h. Serve as a member of the Georgia Building Authority (University) and of the Georgia Building Authority (Schools)
i. Make an annual report to the General Assembly
j. Such other duties as assigned by the State Board[51]

It seems appropriate to say a word about the organization of education at the local level in Georgia. Georgia has 188 school districts, 159 are essentially county districts. In these county districts 120 of the superintendents are publicly elected and 39 are appointed by the county boards of education. The 29 remaining school districts are designated independent districts, and they each embrace an urban area. In each of these districts the board of education appoints the superintendent.

The State Department of Education

The organizational structure of the State Department of Education in Georgia is developed by the State Superintendent and ratified by the State Board of Education. The State Superintendent defines lines of authority and responsibility and establishes executive procedures and regulations which include all specific requirements called for in State Board policy, and in State and Federal law.

The Executive Committee of the State Department consists of the State Superintendent, Associate Superintendent, and the Assistant Superintendent. This committee, under the direction of the State Superintendent, establishes the procedures, rules, and regulations for the operation of the State Department. The top administrators in the State Department are subject to, and protected by the State Merit System. After a six month probationary period, and a satisfactory performance evaluation, professional employees are granted tenure status. This procedure, of course, does not apply to the elected state superintendent. The State Superintendent has flexibility in recommending State Department personnel for probationary employment.

The Department of Education is organized into offices, divisions, and units, as shown in Figure 2. Although each division has specific functions, all functions relate directly to the duties legally stipulated for the State Superintendent regarding policy formulation and implementation.

One Assistant State Superintendent of Schools is assigned as an administrative assistant to the State Superintendent's office. He assists in coordinating activities of the SBE as they relate to the SDE and local school systems. He also acts as a liaison between the SDE, the SBE, the State Law Department, and the Georgia General Assembly.

The Office of Instructional Services is headed by an Associate Superintendent and has the following divisions under its authority: The Division of Early Childhood and Special Education; The Division of Curriculum and Pupil Personnel Services; The Division of Compensatory Education; The Program and Staff Development Division; The Division of Educational Media Services.

GEORGIA STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AND ASSIGNMENT OF FUNCTIONS
Executive Staff and Division Levels (only)
EFFECTIVE JULY 1, 1972

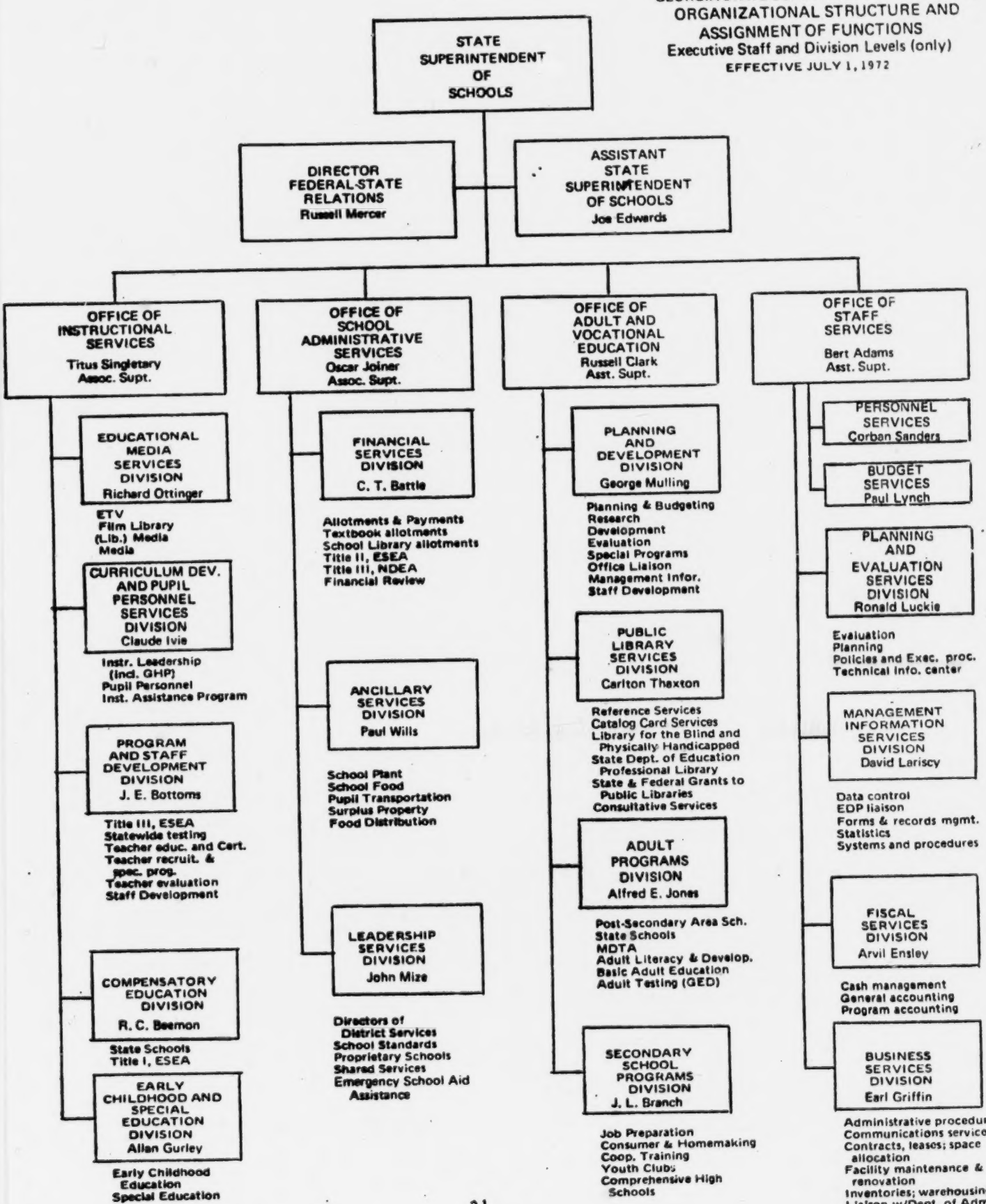

Figure 2

JPN 6/15/72

The Office of School Administrative Services is headed by an Associate Superintendent and has the following divisions under its authority: The Financial Services Division; Leadership Services Division; and The Ancillary Services Division.

The Office of Adult and Vocational Education is headed by an Assistant Superintendent and has the following divisions under its authority: The Division of Planning and Development; The Division of Public Library Services; The Division of Adult Programs; and Secondary Schools Programs Division.

The Office of Staff Services is headed by an Assistant Superintendent, and has the following divisions under its authority: Personnel Services Division; Budget Services Division; Planning and Evaluation Services Division; Management Information Services Division; Fiscal Services Division; and Business Services Division.

All relationships of the State Department of Education with other agencies are directly related to the responsibilities delegated to the State Superintendent by the State Board of Education or reposed in him by law. The organizational structure is determined by the Superintendent, and the individual responsibilities he delegates to subordinate officers largely determine the formal relationships which exist between the State Department and other agencies.

In summary, the State Education Agency in Georgia consists of the State Board of Education, the State Superintendent of Schools, and the State Department of Education. Although the State Board of Education is vested with official policy making responsibility, the State Superintendent has much influence in the policy process. As a constitutionally elected state officer, he has much independence. The State Department of Education which serves as the professional staff of the State

Superintendent has responsibility for administering laws and for generating and providing information to the General Assembly. In addition, the State Department must interpret such information for the General Assembly. Further we should point out that this structural arrangement provides for three rather independent actors or groups in the process of educational decision making: the State Legislature, the Governor, and the State Superintendent. The State Board of Education has a rather wide range of formal authority, but its members are selected by the Governor and approved by the Senate. And the Board's control over the State Superintendent is moderated by the fact that he holds an elected constitutional position.

THE ISSUE AREAS

We selected four educational issue areas to permit our examination of the system of educational policy making in Georgia. These are finance, certification, desegregation, and an area of program improvement. The finance issue, it was felt, would give us our best opportunity to look at the system with all of the actors participating. Certification was chosen as a means of viewing the system when the decision making process is essentially within the educational arena. Desegregation represented an area of strain and afforded, among other things, an opportunity to consider the impact of the courts on the system. Each state agency was also asked to identify a policy issue that would be representative of their efforts to bring about program improvement. In Georgia, this issue was the efforts of the SDE to bring about the development and acceptance of an accountability program.

While examination of action in these issue areas may not have provided a complete understanding of the educational policy making system in Georgia, we believe they did permit us to look at many policy actors and the relationships among them.

School Finance in Georgia

Before turning to the specific school finance issue in Georgia in 1972-73, it is important to describe some of the general features of the school finance program in the state. Nearly every state, including Georgia, bases the financing of its elementary and secondary school systems largely on some combination of local property taxes and state aid.

In Georgia, as in other states, federal grants represent a small part of total support. State funds are intended to complement local outlays rather than substitute for them. State funds come primarily from sales and income taxes while local revenues are derived chiefly from property taxes.

An essential aspect of Georgia's state aid program is the Minimum Foundation Program for Education (MFPE) which constitutes the equalizing part of state aid. The concept behind the foundation program is that a "minimum level of education should be provided to every child in Georgia" and that it is a state responsibility to see that this minimum level is, in fact, provided.

The MFPE is based upon a formula used to calculate the "minimum financial needs" of every local school system for each of the following subprograms:

(1) Teacher's salaries

(2) Other certificated personnel salaries

(3) Pupil transportation

(4) Maintenance operation and sick leave expenses

(5) Free textbooks

(6) Costs for consumable instructional materials

(7) Library and nonconsumable materials cost

(8) Payment for isolated schools

(9) Travel expenses

(10) Special education costs

(11) Statewide communication costs[52]

If the people in a particular school district want a higher level of education than that provided by the Minimum Foundation Program, they may obtain it by raising local revenue in excess of the required minimum.

Any additional revenue so raised remains in the individual school district.

Overall, the state in 1971-72 provided 53.3 per cent of Georgia's school revenues, local governments provided 34.5 per cent, and federal funds made up 12.3 per cent.[53] Eighty per cent, or 340.3 million of the state funds, were distributed through the equalization formula (MFPE). Twenty per cent, or 85.4 million, were distributed on a flat grant basis.[54]

The personal income in Georgia per child of school age in 1972 was $13,782. Using this index as a measure of "ability," Georgia ranked 34th nationally. Georgians spent 4.4 per cent of their personal income on education in 1971-72, which ranked 35th nationally on this measure of "effort." The average "expenditure" per pupil in ADA in 1972 for the state was $782 which placed Georgia 39th when compared with other states.[55] In general, then, we find that the effort and expenditure levels in Georgia fall somewhat below those of the other states.

Using 1969-70 figures for a measure of disparity one finds that the highest expenditure district in Georgia was $736 per pupil in ADA and the lowest was $365. The ratio between these two figures is 2.02 which is a relatively small gap compared to most other states. Georgia ranked 11th on the national School Finance Project Equalization measure which again underscores the fact that there is not a great deal of disparity in financial support among school districts in Georgia.[56] While the question of disparity among district has not been one of high saliency in recent years in Georgia, the press for improved teacher salaries has been. Since more than 60 per cent of the funds distributed by the state go for the support of teacher salaries, it is understandable that this issue has been at the center of state education politics in recent years.

The chief financial issue in Georgia at the time of this study was concerned with a substantial increase in the state minimum salary schedule for teachers. During the 1972 legislative session, the Georgia General Assembly granted a 12.5 per cent pay increase to the teachers of that state. This pay increase represented a substantial increment--a $910 average raise for all teachers in the state. One has to wonder how such a thing could happen, especially in Georgia where pay for teachers has traditionally and consistently been among the lowest in the nation. An attempt will be made to explain the policy process which led to this rather startling outcome.

The demand for a substantial pay increase for teachers was led by the Georgia Association of Educators (GAE), the state affiliate of the National Education Association. The number one legislative budget priority for that organization for the 1972 session was a $1,000 salary increase applied to the index salary schedule. Simple mathematics show that the GAE came within $90 of its goal in spite of the fact that the $1,000 proposal was considered "pie in the sky" at the outset. The $910 average pay increase was achieved after weeks of consideration. The subject of debate was not whether Georgia teachers should have a raise. Rather, the focus was on to "whom" and "how much."

From the time of the state's first teacher salary schedule adoption in 1937 to the present, there have been two schools of thought in Georgia about which teachers should receive raises. Some have felt that any raise should be granted across the board--a flat amount for each teacher. Proponents of this school of thought cited the big difference between beginning and upper experience levels and the fact that the beginning salary level is very low. An equally strong case was offered by those who advocated an index schedule which granted raises on the basis of certification and experience. Proponents of the index schedule said

that its value lies in the fact that it tends to reward teachers who increase their level of certification by continuing their education and obtaining advanced degrees; also that it keeps experienced teachers in the classroom.

The GAE and most other education interest groups favored the second plan, which is in current use. Legislators were divided on the issue, however, and thus a strong debate ensued in the General Assembly. The minority in the General Assembly pushed for across-the-board raises and this represented a threat to the GAE demand. But this opposition became very diffuse as the sallency of the issue increased. Representative James "Sloppy" Floyd was the chief opponent to the GAE efforts. Serving as co-chairman of the Joint Appropriations Committee, Floyd was given to making rather flamboyant comments, for example:

> I want to give them the raise...but I don't think teachers are a special breed of people. Other state employees also need raises.
>
> Some teachers aren't worth a darn...some are alcoholics and homosexuals.
>
> While teachers write their legislators requesting salary increases, Georgia teachers don't want to pay more taxes.[57]

Floyd also criticized the GAE for employing Morton Shapiro to lobby in the General Assembly for teacher raises. Shapiro was the lobbyist who had earlier spearheaded the successful Atlanta Garbage Strike.

To a lesser degree, but nevertheless a serious concern, was the issue of "how much" of a raise was to be granted. The GAE stood firm for its $1,000 demand. Governor Carter felt that a $400 raise was more in line with increases being offered to persons in other areas of service, such as Welfare and Health. The SBE listed in its 1972 budget request a $600 teacher raise as his first priority, but the additional $400 raise was its sixteenth priority.

The GAE and the other education interest groups had data to support the demand for higher teacher pay. Among their more impressive facts were:

1. 50.9 per cent of Georgia's teachers earn below $7,500 per year.
2. 65 Georgia school systems (33 per cent) have no local salary supplement.
3. 82 Georgia school systems (43 per cent) have local supplements below $400.
4. Georgia ranks 15th in total population.
5. Georgia ranks 13th in public school enrollment.
6. Georgia ranks 14th in full-time professional staff.
7. Georgia ranks 43rd in per pupil expenditure.
8. Georgia ranks 49th, with Mississippi, in the low percentage of students who enter high school and graduate.[58]

As the fight for the teacher pay raise gathered momentum, it grew difficult for legislators to oppose it. The pay raise escalated from $300 to $910, first in the House and then in the Senate, with each body making additions to the initial increase provided. As Sloppy Floyd stated later, "We (the General Assembly) may have outdone ourselves." This remark suggests that eventually even he got on the bandwagon.

Three factors may be identified as contributing to the teacher pay raise:

1. The legislature wanted to out-do the Governor who was only passively supporting the issue.
2. The money was available.
3. The 1972 session preceded an election year for members of the General Assembly and legislators saw that the issue had enough public support that it was politically wise to give the raise.

It is especially interesting to note that legislators, when referring to the finance issue were reluctant to give credit to the apparent "winners" in this demand--the GAE. They insisted upon the above mentioned

reasons and many added that they had strong personal convictions of their own or that they had been influenced by locally-based teacher power as opposed to the GAE. To us, the GAE appears to be the "winner" on this issue and Governor Carter seems to have suffered the greatest loss, though this may be undeserved.

Perhaps Governor Carter would have been better off politically had he supported the salary increase more vigorously. As it turned out, his passive support was interpreted by many to have been active resistance. This was not actually the case. When the Federal Pay Board failed to approve the 12.5 per cent increase requested for teachers, the Governor was among those that supplied Superintendent Nix with positive support for requesting approval for the full amount of the raise. In Carter's own words: "We will support every avenue in an effort to compensate Georgia's teachers for the losses they have sustained due to this action." (The Pay Board had only approved 7.5 per cent.) It appeared, at this point in time, that the level of the teacher increase was only a secondary concern and that there was a closing of the ranks in Georgia against the Federal Pay Board.

The Accountability Program

Interest in the concept of educational accountability in Georgia was perhaps inspired most by the presence of Leon Lessinger at Georgia State University. Dr. Lessinger is known as "Mr. Accountability," and as he traversed the state giving lectures on the importance of educational accountability, he generated much concern among legislators and education officials in Georgia for some kind of positive action in this area.

In 1969, perhaps in response to the accountability stimulus, the State Board of Education initiated the Georgia Assessment Project under

the State Department of Education Division of Planning and Research. The Georgia Assessment Project (GAP) was designed to accomplish three tasks:

1. The determination of goals for education in Georgia
2. The translation of these goals into specific behavioral objectives
3. The development of a measuring and assessment system to determine if these objectives were being accomplished.[59]

In December of 1969, GAP presented a report to the State Board that was thought to be the completion of task number one. The Division of Planning, Research, and Evaluation published Goals for Education in Georgia in 1970.

At that point in time, rather than focusing on behavioral objectives, the GAP focused its attention on initiating a statewide assessment program, using standardized tests. This program was implemented, and included the testing of the 4th, 8th, and 12th grade students. The difficult task of establishing specific objectives or hoped for outcomes has still not been accomplished.

However, much legislative concern centered on having specific statewide standards for what students should have learned by a given grade level, as opposed to the broad goals outlined in the GAP publication. Standards, it was suggested, would provide a better basis for interpreting what the state assessment scores meant. Concurrent with the emerging demand for educational accountability on a statewide basis, was a growing controversy over the releasing of test scores. At first, the State Board released scores only to the local districts. It was then up to the individual district to decide whether these scores should be released to the public. The issue of releasing test scores to the public broke into the headlines in January, 1972, with the Governor stating that he was in favor of making the scores available to the public. At the same

time, State Representative Michael S. Egan of Atlanta stated, "Only through comparing scores between systems could the public determine if the tremendous amounts of tax money for education was being spent wisely." In April, 1972 the Assistant Attorney General advised the State Board of Education that the practice of not releasing the scores, and the state's open records law were in conflict. The SBE changed its policy on reporting test scores at the May, 1972 Board meeting; all scores would henceforth be reported to the press.

As the interest in educational accountability continued to grow, Superintendent Nix became a strong advocate of the movement. He gave many speeches across the state in support of the accountability program. He attempted to clarify what was meant by accountability, perhaps with dubious results. From one of his speeches came the following:

> Accountability is on every tongue and pen, and it is one of those terms that is so nebulous, so difficult to define, it can mean something different to every person who attempts an interpretation.[60]

Nix went on to give his own personal interpretation of accountability--equating it with "responsibility."

At the Annual Convention of Georgia School Superintendents and Principals in 1972, Nix's address called for public school administrators:

> To develop some form of accountability...and to put it into practice without hesitating in order to achieve mutual respect with the public and to restore credibility and confidence in our cause for education.[61]

In a speech before teachers at Macon, Georgia, Nix became more specific:

> An accountability system should include specific educational objectives, ways to measure how well the system has done in helping students reach their goals, and ways of evaluating teachers on how well their students perform.[62]

About this time, Representatives Sam Nunn and Robert Farrar decided to propose an accountability bill. Nunn's interest in educational

accountability, and possibly the fact that he was anticipating running for a U. S. Senate Seat (which he won), spurred him to take this action. Farrar, as Chairman of the House Education Committee, apparently shared Nunn's enthusiasm in initiating accountability legislation.

Nunn and Farrar went to the staff of the State Department of Education, Division of Planning, Research, and Evaluation, and asked them to draw up a proposal. This Division, with the approval of the Superintendent, proceeded to accommodate these representatives, and in January, 1972, Nunn and Farrar presented a proposal to the General Assembly. The proposal was really designed to be a School Improvement Act, and it included much more than accountability. Basically, the bill had four components:

1. Accountability in terms of testing and performance
2. Evaluation and tenure procedures for teachers
3. Teacher improvement and staff development
4. Research and development of new procedures

According to a state department official, the comprehensive nature of the bill contributed to its demise. It simply included too many things. In addition, it became very clear that any accountability bill would have to be saleable to the legislature in terms of long-term funding procedures. The legislature was demanding information concerning what they were buying before they would commit resources. It became apparent also that widespread involvement in developing a plan would be a necessity if such a plan were to be acceptable to major policy participants.

The Georgia Association of Educators was cautious about the Bill from the beginning. For instance, their Legislative Bulletin, of February 3, 1972, said in part:

> Your GAE representatives feel some sort of accountability is inevitable, but they neither endorse nor reject the proposed legislation. It is for you to decide and then to make your own judgment known to your association and legislators.

The GAE objected most strongly to the "evaluation of teachers" element of the package fearing that teachers would be the primary targets of the measure. Stress on teacher evaluation, in turn, created greater concern on the part of teachers for improved tenure rights. In addition, the National Education Association had advised the GAE not to accept specific goals without giving due consideration to tenure. Lastly, though the National Teacher's Examination was not explicitly provided for in the bill, it was widely discussed as a method of improving the quality of teachers. This caused much concern in the GAE.

The Georgia School Boards Association, on the other hand, expressed reservations about teacher tenure provisions already in the bill, feeling this would tie their hands in getting rid of incompetent teachers. School Superintendents and building administrators were concerned about the effects of comparing schools and the pressures it would place on them. (This was prior to the May Board action which called for the release of test scores to the public.) They joined teachers in expressing their reservations to the GAE and legislators.

The State Board of Education was basically supportive of an accountability plan but there was some fear that the legislature was infringing on the Board's policy domain.

The GAE passed a resolution in late February (near the end of the session) asking that the legislature delay action on the accountability bill for a one year period. This resolution passed primarily because it was felt that the State Board would be given ample time to develop a more viable plan taking into consideration those aspects of Nunn's

plan that were most under attack. Hopefully, the Board's procedure would reflect widespread involvement in the development of the plan and take account of long-range budget considerations.

As a last ditch effort to pass at least a small vestige of the Accountability Bill, the House Education Committee reported out a substitute bill which called for the approval of the demonstration schools concept. Basically, this was no more than a legal mechanism to enable designated schools, or school districts, to prepare their Minimum Foundation Program budget according to a proposed plan. The strict line item budget requirements of the MFPE in Georgia do not allow for flexibility in terms of program. This "approved plan" concept passed in the House, but, due to a lack of time before the sessions ended, it was never considered in the Senate.

There was general agreement across a range of policy actors that the 1972 Accountability Bill did not pass for these reasons:

1. It was much too comprehensive.
2. Its formulation had not included widespread involvement.
3. Its basic idea (i.e., accountability) was unclear to many policy actors.
4. It was opposed by the GAE and GSBA.

It appears to us, that if the State Department of Education is to play an effective role in bringing about accountability legislation, it will have to effectively involve the major interest groups (GAE, GSBA, and GASS) in the process of drawing up an accountability package. The GAE is certain to push for the inclusion of adequate tenure provisions, and it seems unlikely that the State Board of Education and State Department of Education will support the tenure provision section of a comprehensive bill. The lumping together of numerous educational

concepts in one bill tends to confuse the legislature but the GAE will not support accountability with teachers "under the gun" without better tenure laws.

The Certification Issue in Georgia

On June 18, 1969, the Georgia State Board of Education adopted a "Five-year Teacher Certification Policy." Basically, this adoption stipulated that a career professional certificate should be issued only on the completion of the following requirements:

1. An approved master's degree program or its equivalency and the recommendation of the institution conferring the degree, and
2. Three years of successful teaching experience as certified by the employing superintendent.

The proposal was presented to the State Board by Associate Superintendent Titus Singletary on behalf of the Georgia Teacher Education Council (GTEC). The proposal had been developed over an eighteen month period with little open resistance or conflict.

The demand for the upgrading of the certification requirements in Georgia developed from two or three different sources. The universities felt a fifth year requirement would provide time for the better preparation of teachers with regard to new concepts and experiences in education. The State Department and the Georgia Association of Educators felt a need to improve and upgrade the requirements for granting the professional certificate, particularly in keeping with changes being made in other states. In a position paper prepared for the spring meeting of the GTEC the State Department of Education said in part:

> The teaching profession recognizes that the increasing demands of society and the growing complexity of the responsibilities of the teacher require greater teacher maturity, additional knowledge and skill, and strong professional qualifications. In light of these facts, the profession is

> committed to continuous upgrading of professional standards, and the lay public has given support to this effort through salary differentials which encourage higher levels of preparation.[63]

The general public had also begun to raise questions about the quality of teachers and their training. With the continual increase in educational costs, the expectation that the quality of instruction would also be improved was being projected by the public at large.

In November of 1966 the Georgia State Board of Education had established the Georgia Teacher Education Council to serve as the official recommending body for certification and teacher preparation programs, and the job of upgrading certification fell naturally into the hands of this body. A proposal was developed by the GTEC and the State Board adopted its policy recommendation in June of 1969.

The Georgia Teacher Education Council is composed of a total of seventy-three voting representatives distributed as follows:

a. Teacher education institutions--each college having a state approved teacher education program is entitled to one voting member--a total of thirty-one members.

b. The Georgia Association of Educators--each department of the professional organization is entitled to voting representation as determined by the governing Board of the Association--a total of thirty members.

c. The Georgia Department of Education--eight members.

d. The State Board of Education--two members appointed by the chairman.

e. The Georgia School Board Association--two members, the President, and the past President.

The inclusion of all of these educational representatives on the GTEC virtually assures the passage of any of its recommendations that can be internally resolved. The Five-year Teacher Certification Policy proved to be no exception.

Opposition to the change was minimal, but some did exist. The Chairman of the State Board of Education, James S. Peters (89 years old) voiced some opposition to this change in requirements. He feared this might lead to superficial change in that teachers would possibly go to college simply to take another handful of "education courses," which would merely change their placement on the minimum salary schedule with no real improvement in teaching.

Many teachers were also apprehensive about possible changes in certification requirements. Would the changes apply to them? Or, would the new plan have a grandfather clause? The fact that the requirements were to be degree-based (Masters Degree) and not merely based on accumulated hours also caused some concern among young teachers, since this requirement would be more difficult to achieve. The opposition cited above was never formalized. Rather, "scattered murmurings" were more characteristic of the opposition that did exist.

The Georgia Teacher Education Council worked toward the new requirement during 1968 and 1969. The Council appointed a sub-committee of ten, representative of all groups, to draw up specific recommendations for the fifth year requirement. The sub-committee effectively resolved such questions as the master's degree requirements and the experience that should be included in the fifth year.

In April of 1969 the sub-committee reported back to the Board a position paper outlining the components of the new plan. As mentioned earlier, the proposal in its final form was presented by Dr. Singletary, a State Department of Education member of the Council, and was adopted without alteration.

The process of changing the professional teacher certification was carried out with little controversy. The State Board of Education and

the State Department of Education, by establishing the Georgia Teacher Education Council, had involved the major actors in the policy process. The GTEC, in essence, served as the Board's agent in working out the details of the proposal and bringing about group consensus on the components of the proposal. The entire process was kept within the educational arena and at no time involved legislative action or even consideration.

Desegregation

Georgia is classed with the deep south states in terms of school desegregation efforts. These states have generally had the highest percentage of black population in comparison with other regions of the United States. These states (Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisianna, North Carolina, South Carolina) at least in the early part of the movement, generally have been the most resistant to the process of desegregation of the schools.

As early as 1951 there was a provision placed in Georgia's school equalization program providing that state aid would be automatically discontinued to schools that integrated white and Negro students. In November, 1954, by a vote of 210,488 to 181,148 Georgians approved a constitutional amendment permitting the operation of a "private school system," supported by tuition grants of public funds in the event the General Assembly saw fit to shut down the public schools.[64]

Herman Talmadge, the U. S. Senator from Georgia, has been a long time defender of segregation and in the late 50's urged a boycott of any televised program which featured white and black performers. He told his followers that "segregation is more important than all other issues." The late Ralph McGill did not think Herman was as blatant on this issue as his father, Eugene, had been in the past. McGill perhaps thought

that Herman realized the significance of the industrial age in Georgia and wished to retain the support of industrialists. Roy V. Harris, owner of the Augusta Courier and a Regent of the University system of Georgia, has long been an influential figure in Georgia politics and has also spoken out against desegregation for years.[65]

Until 1961 the Georgia legislature stipulated that all schools in a district were to be closed if a Negro was assigned to a "white" school. Southern lawmaking bodies had produced a constant stream of obstruction laws in response to desegregation. Eugene Cook, the Georgia Attorney General in 1957 stated, "We might as well be candid. Most of these laws will be stricken down by the courts in due course." Yet each law makes possible another round of motions, briefs, hearings, rulings, and appeals. As one segregationist said, "As long as we can legislate, we can segregate."[66] The opposition to desegregation in Georgia was reflective of the other deep south states; it was generally a policy of hindrance and delay. As noted above, there have been other voices in the state such as those of the late Ralph McGill and some members of the Atlanta business community who wanted to avoid the stigma of another Little Rock.

Slow as it may have seemed, significant progress has come about in the overall desegregation of the schools in Georgia. In 1968, 83.3 per cent of the minority students attended schools composed of 90-100 per cent minority students. By 1970 this figure had been reduced to 34.3 per cent. In recent years the issue of busing students to achieve desegregation has captured the headlines in Georgia as it has in other parts of the nation. Despite these activities, school desegregation in Georgia has not occupied a position of much importance at the state level policy arena in recent years. For the most part, desegregation has been a matter of concern to the courts and to local districts, i.e. Atlanta and

Augusta have been ordered to desegregate. Though the state has not taken an active role in this regard, the State Board of Education did pass an anti-busing resolution at its September, 1971 Board meeting, a part of which read:

> This Board totally and unequivocally rejects the concept or idea of transporting or busing their children away from their homes to attend school.

This resolution will serve as a focal point of discussion about state level policy action with regard to desegregation in the State of Georgia. It came at a time when "busing" was receiving much attention nationally, particularly in the Charlotte and Richmond cases, as well as in Georgia, specifically in Atlanta and Augusta.

A Board member, when asked about the board resolution, indicated that Board members felt that it was necessary "to speak out on this question, and let the people know how we feel." Another member said, "We realize our resolution has no legal status, but at least it is a symbolic act that shows where we stand."

Even though the State Board had spoken out against busing in Georgia, it is not a fair assessment to cast them in an obstructionist role. Their 1971 resolution was made in spite of the fact that the Georgia Board members had, for the most part, resigned themselves to the fact that the Federal Government had and would continue to carry out plans and programs of desegregation in Georgia. The busing controversy that developed in Augusta and Atlanta had escalated the Board's concern over one of the mechanics of desegregation.

There has been little or no demand for the Georgia State Department of Education or the State Board of Education to solve desegregation problems in Georgia. The role of the State Department has been limited to providing technical and supportive services to local districts seeking

compliance with HEW and court guidelines. This help has been provided through the State Department's Office of Leadership Services. The Office consists of a director and a field staff of fifteen. A representative of the Office serves in one or more of the eighteen area planning and development districts and makes his services available to school districts that call upon the State Board or the State Department for assistance.

The State Superintendent of Schools has taken a very visible stand against busing. This is somewhat unusual in that most state-level school officials have attempted to avoid the desegregation question. A series of statements have been selected from speeches given by the State Superintendent during the time period 1970-1972. These excerpts will illustrate the position that the State Superintendent has taken on this topic. In his press statement concerning the opening of schools in Georgia in August of 1970, the State Superintendent said, in part:

> ....Superintendents, principals, and teachers in the state's public schools have gone beyond the call of duty in their efforts to create an atmosphere of hope and progress as they plan for the opening of school this fall. They have worked in the face of odds that seemed impossible at times, especially as they tried to meet requirements of officials of the U. S. Office and Department of Health, Education and Welfare concerning racial balance in schools. As they tried to please HEW officials, they have at the same time been caught in conflicting rulings of federal district and circuit courts, they have lacked the clarification of the U. S. Supreme Court, which is not planning to even consider until October the crucial question of busing in the Charlotte, North Carolina school system.

In November, 1971 in a speech in Atlanta given at an AASA Conference on pupil transportation, the State Superintendent again made his position in respect to busing school children known to all:

> ....We operate the school buses in this state for the purpose of education, not to solve problems that have their basis in economic factors and are created by housing patterns. It is time to stop asking the schools in this state and this nation

> to solve all of the ills of society. The schools have been the battleground of those who would eliminate poverty, of those who would teach religion, and of those who would have us not teach religion. Now the schools are being asked to solve problems that can only be solved finally be the enforcement of laws insuring open housing for all segments of society... Wilson Riles also said--and again I agree with him--that we are never going to integrate Watts. The solution to the problem of the ghettos in our cities like Los Angeles and Atlanta is not to bus children into an artificial environment where they feel self-conscious and out-of-place.

In February of 1972, after a crisis in Augusta over desegregation and the busing of students, the State Superintendent issued a statement from which we quote:

> The crisis that has occurred in Augusta as a result of federal court orders requiring busing for racial balance is a deplorable situation. Because of unreasonable, even irrational, requirements of the court, children are being hurt.
>
> .....I have consistently expressed my position against busing to achieve racial balance. The State Board of Education, in its resolution adopted in September, 1971, took a similar strong anti-busing position. "I repeat, I do not support busing to achieve racial balance; neither do I condone the boycott of public schools by children in opposition to busing."

The position taken by State Superintendent Nix on the issue of busing is reflective of statements that were being made by many elected public officials at this time (1970-72). This position on busing was espoused not only in Georgia and the South but similar statements were emerging from all sections of the country. The U. S. Congress even considered an amendment to the Constitution to deal with the problem.

In an appearance before the House Judiciary Committee on February 29, 1972, in Washington D.C., Superintendent Nix stated:

> .....During the years before the question became a national issue, Southern opposition to busing to achieve racial balance was looked upon purely as a matter of racial prejudice. Now, I hope, it is clear to anyone who thinks rationally that there are a great many valid objections to busing which have their basis not in racial prejudice, but in the desire to provide the best quality education on the most equitable basis for every child, no matter who he is or where he happens to live.

> ....I am very much in favor of either legislation or a constitutional amendment that will clear up the question of busing. Right now we are so hampered by conflicting court rulings that it takes herculean effort to carry on any kind of educational program at all. In Augusta, we have court-set quotas for specific schools; in Atlanta we have a more lenient ruling that requires busing only if it will further integration; in Richmond, Virginia, we have a court order that invalidates school system lines and orders busing among school systems.
>
> ....Where will we stop requiring busing, if the Richmond decision stands? Are we going to be required to bus across state lines? Of course, that is an absurd idea, but only slightly more so than the solution recently proposed by lawyers contesting the Atlanta court decision. Their proposal is that children be bused across town, north to south, and east to west, in many cases from one school that is 70 per cent black enrollment to another school that is also 70 per cent black.

There can be little doubt in anyone's mind where the State Superintendent stood on the issue of busing. Being opposed to busing was not a difficult posture since it appears that many people in Georgia lend their overwhelming support to an anti-busing stance.

There was also an obvious absence of concerted effort by minority groups to affect policy change at the state level with regard to desegregation. Apparently perceived receptivity to such demands were such that efforts appeared to be more usefully directed at local and federal levels.

RELATIONSHIPS OF EDUCATION POLICY ACTORS IN GEORGIA

The relationships among the actors in the Georgia education policy making system and their impact on the decisions that were made is a necessary part of our understanding of that system. We have attempted to determine this by using structured and open-ended interviews, questionnaire data, and by examining documentary sources. Questions pertaining to four specific issue areas in the case study and about questions of a more general nature were used to gain overall perceptions about the role, influence, and other characteristics of each actor or group of actors.

In looking at the relationships among actors we should point out that some relationships will be noted more than once. This occurs when different actors report their perceptions of the same events. In some instances these perceptions are in agreement while in others they differ to some degree. Each actor obviously interprets the event from his perspective.

The Role of the State Superintendent

Jack Nix attracted the attention of Atlanta's businessmen and legislators while he was serving as State Director of Vocational Education. As he pushed for and accomplished the building of vocational and technical centers he emerged as a man that is "decisive and willing to move quickly." It soon became evident to some of his associates that he had his eye on the top executive post in education. His opportunity

came earlier than expected when his predecessor announced to Nix that he was retiring and that he wanted Jack to fulfill his unexpired term. Nix was officially appointed by the Governor, and took the post on January 1, 1966.

Nix has continued as State Superintendent since 1966. He successfully fulfilled his interim responsibilities and also managed to gain significant political support. He ran unopposed for the state superintendency in November, 1966. He conducted no campaign and his total expenditure was limited to the filing-fee cost. During the next four years he established himself firmly as the top school executive in Georgia and was consequently re-elected to office in 1970. Again he was unopposed and had no campaign expense.

The State Superintendent in Georgia is a constitutional officer elected by popular vote. This gives him a power base of his own and Jack Nix has taken full advantage of this provision. Although he must follow and carry out the policies of the State Board of Education, his job security is otherwise very much independent of the Board.

The ability of the State Superintendent to cultivate and develop his influence in the Georgia General Assembly is of critical importance because it is up to that legislative body to approve the budget each year. The Governor cannot control the State Superintendent or the methods he chooses to employ in working with the legislature. Jack Nix has proven himself to be extremely influential in the legislature in promoting legislation he supports and blocking legislation he opposes.

The political style of the State Superintendent has proven to be very effective in Georgia. He spends much time and effort building support for his policy proposals before they get to the floor of the General Assembly. At times he focuses his attention on getting legislative support by lobbying with key legislators. On other occasions

he concentrates his energies on gaining the support of a broader constituency (e.g., interest group leaders or local school administrators). When it is necessary he is willing to compromise. In short, he "knows the ropes" in the Georgia policy arena and has been able to build for himself a strong, independent image.

To get a better picture of how the State Superintendent in Georgia relates to the different policy actors, it seems useful to draw from our interviews with other actors. We will begin by discussing his relationship with the State Board of Education.

Since the State Board of Education in Georgia is appointed by the Governor, one might think that the Governor would, through the Board, exercise at least indirect control over the Superintendent. This has not proven to be the case. Even though Governor Carter has been able to name five new members during the term of his office, he does not control the Board. The fact that the Governor cannot succeed himself mitigates against the possibility of his exercising much control. In fact, the Governor in Georgia is a "lame duck" from the time he enters office.

Superintendent Nix has managed to maintain a good working relationship with his Board. He sees himself as "not influential," however, in recommending candidates for the State Board of Education to the Governor. However, the State Board expert on the State Department staff gave Nix a "somewhat influential" rating on this item.

Nix and his top staff agreed that in presenting proposals to the Board, he most frequently meets with the entire Board to present either an outline or a detailed plan for Board reaction. Six of the seven Board members interviewed indicated agreement with that procedure. Only one member suggested that Nix often "meets informally with individual Board members to discuss ideas."

According to our data, Board members do not frequently oppose Nix on policy issues, though recently a Governor Carter bloc seems to have emerged. This bloc has not yet taken issue with Nix. More appropriately, it can be said that its members may be somewhat more sensitive to the Governor's position than are the other Board members.

In an effort to determine the way in which the State Superintendent and the SBE viewed the job of the State Superintendent we asked them to respond to questions reflecting the statements shown in Table 1.

The responses to these questions reflect a high level of agreement between the State Superintendent and the SBE members as to the role of the State Superintendent. The only area of wide disagreement was in the positions taken in respect to the selection of State Board members (question 4). The State Superintendent preferred a more active role on this question than did the majority of Board members. The mixed response by the SBE to question five could be a sign of the growing stress between the Governor and the State Superintendent. It is apparent from these responses that both the SBE and the State Superintendent view the role of the State Superintendent as a strong, active one. Moreover, on nine of the ten questions the SBE members displayed a high level of agreement among themselves.

Turning now to the State Department staff, Nix has maintained a good working relationship with the staff. He said:

> The State Department staff do not always agree with me or the Board. Often they strongly present alternatives. Once a decision has been made, however, all of us support that decision.[68]

Although the State Board of Education has formal employment authority over the State Department of Education, with the exception of the Superintendent, Nix appears to have considerable influence in this regard.

TABLE 1

PERCEPTIONS OF THE STATE SUPERINTENDENT AND STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION MEMBERS (7) REGARDING THE ROLE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT

Role of State Superintendent	Agree		Disagree	
	State Supt.	SBE	State Supt.	SBE
1. A State Superintendent (Commissioner) should assume leadership in shaping the policies enacted by the SBE.	S	5		2
2. A State Superintendent (Commissioner) should maintain a neutral stand on education policy issues that are very controversial among the citizens of his state.		1	S	6
3. A State Superintendent (Commissioner) should actively seek to influence legislative leaders with regard to education policies.	S	6		1
4. A State Superintendent (Commissioner) should work to have people he respects become members of the SBE.	S	1		6
5. A State Superintendent (Commissioner) should administer the SDE and leave policy matters to other state officials.		3	S	4
6. A State Superintendent (Commissioner) should actively work with party leaders in order to attain education policy goals.	S	5		2
7. A State Superintendent (Commissioner) should take a policy position in which he believes even when most professional educators may be hostile.	S	5		2
8. A State Superintendent (Commissioner) should be the principal advocate of major changes in state education policy.				
9. A State Superintendent (Commissioner) should actively seek to influence federal legislation that affects public education in his state.	S	7		0
10. A State Superintendent (Commissioner) should allow local district officials as much leeway as possible in dealing with educational issues.	S	7		0

S - response of State Superintendent.

Communication between the office of State Superintendent and legislative leaders, as rated by the State Superintendent and two of his assistants who served as legislative experts, is shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2

RATING OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN STATE SUPERINTENDENT AND LEGISLATIVE LEADERS BY THE SUPERINTENDENT AND HIS LEGISLATIVE EXPERTS

Individual/Group	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
Speaker of the House	S E	E		
Presiding Officer of the Senate	S	E E		
Minority Party Leader in the House	S E	E		
Minority Party Leader in the Senate		S E E		
Appropriations Committe in House	S E E			
Appropriations Committee in Senate	S E E			
Education Committee in House	S E E			
Education Committee in Senate	S E E			
Joint Finance Committee	S			

S - State Superintendent; E - Legislative Expert.

In only one case does there seem to be a difference among the respondents; the State Superintendent is a little more optimistic about relations with the presiding officer of the Senate. Apparently, this communication has paid off. In terms of success in getting State Department proposals enacted by the legislature, the State Superintendent, the SDE legislative experts, and the legislators all give high marks as can be seen in Table 3.

TABLE 3

RATING OF SUCCESS OF SUPERINTENDENT IN GETTING PROPOSALS ADOPTED BY THE LEGISLATURE GIVEN BY THE SUPERINTENDENT, SDE LEGISLATIVE EXPERTS (2) AND LEGISLATORS (13)

Ratings	Super-intendent	SDE Experts (2)	Legis-lators (13)
1. Almost always successful		E	1
2. Successful most of the time	S	E	12
3. Successful about half the time			
4. Successful less than half the time			
5. Almost always successful			

The Superintendent and his two aids indicated that the SDE had increased its influence with the legislature in recent years. The responses of the legislators that we interviewed seemed to be in strong agreement with the self-evaluation of the State Department spokesmen.

The thirteen legislative interviewees were selected from the House and Senate Education and Appropriation Committees and from the ranks of legislative leadership. The four Education Committee legislators gave Nix high marks as an education authority, as a source of information, as a lobbyist, and as a master of political know-how. They agreed that his influence did not come from the Democratic party. The one Republican committee member was somewhat more modest in his praise of Nix than were the three Democrats. All agreed that Nix has little influence with the Governor, but they indicated that he has more political influence on education issues than does the Governor.

The response of the four Appropriation Committee members were very similar to those of Education Committee members. They tended to be even

stronger in their praise of the State Superintendent's political know-how and education expertise. Said one, "He practices good public relations throughout the year." Overall, the committee members held Nix in high regard. They made use of the information he provided, and they were influenced by his position.

The five House and Senate leaders saw the State Superintendent as a respected education authority, as a provider of useful information, as an effective lobbyist, and as a person with great political know-how. They did not ascribe his influence to any position in the Democratic party, and they saw him as having little or no influence with the Governor.

The real key to Superintendent Nix's success seems to reside in his very good relations with the legislators. Four of the five educational interest group leaders emphasized this point; one even went so far as to refer to his "charm with the lawmakers." One high official in the State Department, in reference to his popularity in the legislature, commented "Some (legislators) are even mentioning his name as a candidate for Governor."

The relationship between Nix and the education interest group leaders is an interesting one. One interest group spokesman said that Nix is "the best Superintendent Georgia has ever had." The basis for this appraisal is found in his legislative relations and the ability of his office to generate a data base. Two of the educational interest-group-leader respondents commented on "his homework" or "mastery of information." Interest group leaders also indicated respect for his capacity to marshall cooperation on the part of the Georgia Association of Educators, the Georgia School Boards Association, and the State Board of Education. Only two reasons for any lack of success were noted: competition for dollars and ignoring of local superintendents.

During Nix's first five years in office he operated free of intervention by the Governor in the educational policy arena. Carl Sanders and Lester Maddox made no real attempts to involve themselves in educational policy making. This changed when Governor Carter was elected to office in 1971. Interviews with the Governor and two of his staff members suggest that the Governor sees himself as an "education" Governor. His campaign platform included the following issues: statewide testing, career education, remedial reading, and early childhood development. His educational background included his serving (1) as a local board member, and (2) as Chairman of the Senate Education Committee.

Governor Carter has openly criticized the traditional incremental budgeting approach used by all state departments, including the State Department of Education. He argues that the traditional method takes as a given that a program from the previous year is worth maintaining. The Governor advocates a zero-based budgeting technique that calls for yearly evaluation of existing programs, and a recycling of only those programs that justify themselves in cost/benefit terms. Superintendent Nix has opposed the Governor on this issue claiming that the system being recommended by Carter is too complicated, and not necessary. The Governor and his educational expert, Larry Gess, drew up a proposed revision of the Georgia Minimum Foundation Program for Education which the State Superintendent and State Department of Education opposed.

Carter has taken the position that his primary concern is the delivery of services to the children in Georgia. He employs a strong child-benefit approach. He sees Nix, on the other hand, as not being primarily interested in child-benefit. Carter indicates that Nix's recommendations "are not based on needs analyses of educational outcomes, and that his primary concern is with the organizational health of the

State Department and with teacher benefits." This has tended to put Nix in a difficult position. A primary source of Nix's support comes from the education community (especially GAE) and he can hardly afford to disavow his interest in teacher benefit. He has tried, with some success, to link teacher benefit to child benefit, but the question of relationship still persists.

ernor's staff member quite clearly described the relationship between Governor Carter and Superintendent Nix:

> ....both are bright and dynamic. Nix, however, sees himself as the constitutional leader of education in the State and feels that the Governor should leave education policy to him. Carter sees Nix on the other hand as not being primarily interested in child benefit....the accountability base.[69]

The Governor insists that neither the State Department nor the GAE has ever promoted any innovative programs in education. According to Carter, every governor has had to develop his own staff and programs with little help from the State Department of Education.

Governor Carter and two of his staff members agreed that the Office of the State Superintendent was among their most important sources of advice and ideas (rating of 2 on a 4 point scale). However, they also contended that to secure such information, the initiative had to be taken by the Governor's office. Nix contended that his office was the most important source (rating of 1 on a 4 point scale) of advice and ideas to the Governor.

Two conditions may help to explain the conflict between the State Superintendent and the Governor. The first is the political strength of the Superintendent. He has done well at the polls, and appears to have the support of school people. Moreover, his leadership is clearly evident in the legislature. The second condition has to do with constitutional provisions surrounding the two offices. The Governor is not permitted to

succeed himself, hence he must serve a four year term and then wait for four years if he desires to run again. The Superintendent, on the other hand, as the Governor contends, sees himself as the "permanent constitutional officer" for education.

The Role of the State Board of Education

The Georgia State Board of Education maintains a rather apolitical stance and is somewhat dependent upon the initiation of the State Superintendent in the area of policy formulation. Until recently the SBE was rather harmonious with very little conflict present on the Board. The current conflict between the Governor and State Superintendent has generated some conflict on the SBE, but it is not yet clear if this situation is merely temporary. The SBE appeared to play a minimal role at best with the legislature and educational interest groups. Board members in general indicated that Board appointees did not seek a position on the SBE. When Board members were asked to evaluate the influence of individuals in recommending potential members for the SBE to the Governor, they responded as shown in Table 4. The evaluations of influence on the part of State Board members did not differ substantially from those made by the Governor's office and the State Superintendent. The Governor's staff respondent placed more stress on the influence of legislators, party leaders, and members of the Governor's staff; and the State Superintendent indicated he was not influential in recommending SBE members.

Most Board members indicated that they spent more than a week per month carrying out their Board duties. The agenda for State Board meetings and related information were received by Board members one week prior to each meeting of the Board in most instances. The agendas were prepared by the State Superintendent and Board members indicated that only on rare occasions did they submit items for the agenda.

TABLE 4

RESPONSES OF STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION MEMBERS REGARDING THE INFLUENCE OF CERTAIN ACTORS IN RECOMMENDING SBE CANDIDATES TO THE GOVERNOR

Individuals/Groups	Very Influential	Somewhat Influential	Not Influential
Current State Board Members		3	4
State Superintendent of Education		6	1
State Teachers Association		2	5
State Administrator Association		1	6
Members of the Governor's Staff		5	2
Members of the Legislature	1	6	
Party Leaders (other than legislators)	1	4	2
Local School Board Members		3	4

The quality of the information supplied by the SDE was rated high by Board members. Only three members suggested some weaknesses such as (1) some technical material not clear, (2) too much material, and (3) "Sometimes the issue is settled before we meet." But in general SBE members were very positive about the efforts put forth by the State Superintendent and SDE in attempting to keep them informed. The seven Board members interviewed evaluated the SDE information in the following manner (R=7):

Almost always meets our needs.....3
Usually meets our needs.....4
Sometimes meets our needs.....0
Almost never meets our needs.....0

Board members were unanimous in rejecting the view that they should be spokesmen for particular geographic or ethnic groups. Board members indicated that they were usually in agreement when they were attempting to decide a major policy issue. Board members characterized the agreement on the Board, as follows (R=7):

Board is harmonious, little serious disagreement.....0

Board is usually in agreement, but there are Board members who sometimes dissent.....5

Board tends to divide into rival factions of nearly equal strength.....0

Board tends to divide into rival factions, but there is a clear working majority on the Board.....0

Board often is divided but the lines of division depend on the issues that are confronting the Board.....2

The responses shown above were rather consistent with our overall impressions, that is, that there is a relatively high level of agreement and harmony on the Georgia SBE. The fact that two members chose response number five is somewhat difficult to explain; it could be indicative of the conflict between the State Superintendent and Governor on certain education priorities. Board members gave the following reasons for agreement on the Board: respect for the State Superintendent, the chairman encourages participation, members are interested in education, a willingness to compromise, and the interesting comment "We don't have great influence." In terms of disagreement, four of the seven Board members referred to a liberal-conservative split. This split appears to parallel the Carter-Nix division on the Board referred to previously. Even though one Board member said, "Carter appointees stick together," Board members were unanimous in saying they did not oppose the State Superintendent.

Superintendent-Board relationships, particularly approaches used in the preparation of major policy proposals, were examined. Responses from the Superintendent and Board members are summarized in Table 5.

The perceptions of SBE members are essentially consistent with the manner in which the State Superintendent sees himself operating. These

perceptions are consistent with our impressions, that is, that the State Superintendent is very active in developing proposals and submitting them to the SBE. In fact, the Board relies on the State Superintendent to take the initiative in preparing policy proposals.

TABLE 5

PERCEPTIONS OF THE SUPERINTENDENT AND BOARD MEMBERS (7) REGARDING APPROACHES USED IN THE PREPARATION OF MAJOR POLICY PROPOSALS

Approach	Frequency			
	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Meets informally with individual Board members to discuss ideas	1	2, S	3	1
Presents an outline of his ideas to a Board committee for its reactions		1	4, S	2
Presents an outline of his ideas to the entire Board for its reactions	4, S	2	1	
Develops a fully detailed proposal for a Board committee to consider		3, S	3	1
Develops a fully detailed proposal for the entire Board to consider	5, S	1	1	
Develops a detailed proposal and informally solicits the reactions of individual Board members before presenting it to the Board or one of its committees	1	4	1, S	1
Takes ideas or suggestions from Board members and develops these into a policy proposal	2	3, S	2	

S - State Superintendent's Responses.

Some initiative has been taken by members of the SBE in establishing a legislative committee to serve as a mechanism for formal presentation of Board legislative proposals to the legislature. According to one Board member:

> ....This year for the first time we have a legislative committee of the Board working with the department staff and interest group personnel to develop a legislative package to be presented to the legislature by the State Department staff.[70]

Four Board members referred to this committee, all of whom had been appointed by Governor Carter. Other informants have suggested the possibility that the Board legislative committee idea was conceived by the Carter bloc as a means of counteracting the personal influence of Superintendent Nix with the Board.

All Board members agreed that the Board does make legislative recommendations. Those members that did not refer to the Board legislative committee gave support to the idea that Board members communicate legislative positions to the General Assembly by personal contacts with certain legislators; by written communications; by Board member appearances at hearings; and through the State Superintendent. Legislators had varying reactions as to whether the State Board communicates its proposals to the legislature. Five members of the legislature felt this was done through the State Superintendent and five members felt that the SBE did not communicate legislative proposals to the legislature. One member of the legislature said, "Nix represents the SBE through a chain of command that I have never seen broken." Only one legislator had been approached by a Board member on a personal basis regarding proposed legislation, and in that case both men were from the same district. Reasons given by legislators in explaining "why Board members do not communicate with them" included the following:

(1) They don't have time--this was referred to twice.

(2) If they (SBE) became politically involved they would lose credibility.

(3) The State Superintendent is employed to do this for them, they only advise.

Some additional comments reflect and amplify the extent of noninvolvement by Board members in legislative activity. According to the House minority leader, "A State Board member has never talked to me since I have been in the legislature (eight years)." Another legislator commented, "I know only one Board member and I never see him."

The State Board expert on the State Department staff indicated that State Board policy positions are primarily communicated through the State Superintendent and his staff but that Board members occasionally testify at hearings and occasionally submit a letter. He feels that the Board has some influence with the legislature in that "they have status as professionals and have a good image." He added, however, that the Board has "no political clout."

When legislators were asked to assess the importance of the SBE in actually formulating and working for education legislation they responded in the following manner (R=13):

1. The single most important participant.....0
2. One of the most important participants.....6
3. A participant of minor importance.....7
4. Not important at all as a participant.....0

The response of the six legislators who selected answer number two is somewhat confusing to us, given their previous assessment of the SBE members. We believe some legislators had difficulty separating the role of the State Superintendent from that of the SBE on this question.

The relationship between the State Board and the Governor's office is not as strong as one might expect in a situation where the Governor appoints the Board. Board members feel they have limited input into the Governor's legislative proposals. Three of the seven members pointed out, however, that "The Governor knows our priorities." Others noted that they have input through the State Superintendent. The State Board

expert on the Department Staff indicated that the Board does not have much input into the Governor's proposals.

The Governor's staff views the State Board as a minor source of information to the Governor. Some reasons given include the point that Board members are often not available; that the State Department represents the Board; and the interesting comment, "The CSSO, being an elected official, is not subservient to the Board - he acts very independent of them." It was felt by the Governor's staff that the Board could (if they made an effort) influence the Governor's office. According to one respondent, "The Board has the legal authority to make policy, rules, regulations, and guidelines; however, they only act on pressing issues..." This is an apparent criticism on the part of the Governor's staff of a less than pro-active stance by the State Board on matters of policy.

The Governor's office reportedly has tended to get involved in policy matters that fall within the domain of the State Board. A Governor's staff official pointed out that the Governor has been very supportive of Career Education and Certification policy matters, and that the Governor had actually made some of his own emergency funds available so that local educators could attend education conferences. On the other hand, five of the seven Board members interviewed indicated that the Governor, legislators, and party leaders did not try to get involved in policy issues over which the State Board of Education has authority. This difference may be primarily semantic, caused by different interpretations of what is meant by the word "involved." To some, "support" functions can be viewed as policy participation acts. To Board members, "support" functions apparently were not viewed as such.

The relationships that exist between the State Board of Education and the educational interest groups in Georgia are important. According

to five of the seven Board members interviewed, the Georgia Association of Educators and the Georgia School Board Association most frequently seek to influence the major policy decisions of the State Board. Both of these agencies are represented at all Board meetings. Local superintendents also seek to influence the Board, according to two members. The local superintendents were mentioned by five Board members as having the most actual influence. The GAE and local superintendents are the groups whose support is most sought by the State Board. Only one non-education group was mentioned as having some State Board influence--The Chamber of Commerce.

Five interest group leaders were interviewed, persons representing the Georgia Association of Educators, the Georgia School Board Association, and the Georgia Association of School Superintendents. All of these respondents agreed that the State Board of Education formalizes recommendations of the State Superintendent rather than giving direction to policy action. The primary reason given for this phenomena was "that is their expected role." Three of the five interest group people indicated that they work with the SBE in policy development. They do this by attending Board meetings, mailing legislative programs to the Board, and by means of a general exchange of information.

There does not appear to be any conflict between the State Board and educational interest groups. The State Board expert on the State Department staff gave two reasons that may account for this harmony:

(1) "Carry over" of the tradition of not questioning the State Board

(2) The traditional close working relationship of all groups at the state level

Finally, we ask the State Board members to note the importance of different individuals or groups in helping them to see state education

policy issues as they did. Board member responses to this question are summarized in Table 6.

TABLE 6

RESPONSES OF STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION MEMBERS(7) REGARDING IMPORTANCE OF VIEWS OF CERTAIN ACTORS IN CONTRIBUTING TO BOARD POLICY POSITIONS

Persons/Groups	Very Important	Important	Unimportant
Views of other Board members	2	4	1
Views of the State Superintendent	5	2	
Views of school people who speak for local districts	2	5	
Views of political party leaders		1	6
Views of state legislators	1	2	4
Views of the Governor	1	4	2
Views of State Teachers Association		5	2
Views of State Administrator Association		5	2

The designation by State Board members of actors important to them was found to be highly consistent with our other findings, that is the SBE essentially looks to one individual for guidance when it comes to deciding major policy decisions, the State Superintendent.

A review of the information presented seems to indicate that the State Board of Education was not actively involved, other than through the State Superintendent and staff, in the legislative process in the General Assembly. It was also evident that its decisions were most influenced by the State Superintendent and State Department staff, the local superintendents, and the Georgia Association of Educators. The Board appeared to act in a legitimizing capacity, seldom giving initial direction to policy decisions.

A beginning philosophical split has taken place on the Board between Governor Carter's appointees and those appointed by former Governor Maddox. All of these Board members, however, indicated a supportive position with regard to Superintendent Nix. This possibly explained the limited dialogue between the State Board and the Governor's office.

It appears that the Board of Education enjoys a prestigious image, and carries a low profile. Board meetings are usually conflict-free and observers seldom number more than twenty-five people.

Role of Georgia Legislators

The chairmen of the four committees that handle most education legislation, the Appropriations and Education Committees in the Senate and the House, were the key legislative leaders in respect to most education matters.

The Senate Appropriations Committee was headed by Senator Frank Coggin who was in his first year as chairman of that committee. The Education Committee in the Senate was headed by Senator Terrell Starr who was in his second year as chairman of that committee. The House Appropriations Committee was headed by Representative James "Sloppy" Floyd who had served as chairman of that committee for seven years. The House Education Committee had been headed by Representative Robert Farrar for the past three years.

In some instances these committees and their chairman did not seem to play leading roles. In some cases the Governor and his staff attempted to work around particular committees and their leaders, particularly when they felt other legislators were more sympathetic to their legislation. In other cases powerful members of the legislature such as the Speaker or Lieutenant Governor, who also serves as President of the Senate, tended to overshadow the committees by taking a strong position on legislation.

It appeared to us that there was one member of the legislature who carried more influence than the others in the field of education legislation and particularly legislation that required continued or new appropriation of funds from the legislature. This legislator was James "Sloppy" Floyd, head of the House Appropriations Committee. Mr. Floyd was unique in that it appeared that he was not particularly close to any segment of the education establishment. His attitude toward the Georgia Association of Educators was often negative in fact (The GAE had supported his opponent in the last election). While his relationships with the State Superintendent and Governor were polite, one got the impression that Mr. Floyd was not controlled by anyone.

In looking at the question of which individuals or groups provided the most useful information about the public schools one is struck by the large number of sources that were identified by the thirteen legislators that we interviewed, as illustrated in Table 7.

While there were nine different sources listed, one should note the relative concentration of responses in the first four categories. Despite these responses, one can also be misled by the relatively high scores received by the education interest groups. Though they are frequently identified as a source, a better idea of their impact is provided upon examination of responses to the following question: which source of information do you find the most useful? Ten legislators indicated the SDE or State Superintendent provided the most useful information. Three legislators indicated that either teachers, administrators, or Board members in their local districts provided them with the most useful information. It is worth noting that the education interest groups in Georgia did not receive a single vote in response to that question.

TABLE 7

RATINGS GIVEN INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS WHO PROVIDE INFORMATION ON THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS TO THE LEGISLATURE AS NAMED BY LEGISLATORS (13)

Individual or Group Identified	Number of Legislators Naming that Source
SDE or State Superintendent	11
Georgia Association of Education	9
Georgia School Boards Association	9
Local District Sources	6
State Board of Education	1
Governor and Staff	1
Georgia Education Improvement Council	1
National Education Association	1
Education Commission of the States	1

This supports the overall impression we received from Georgia legislators, that is, though they recognize the existence of the education interest groups at the state level and particularly the GAE, they do not give much credit to those organizations in terms of their state level leadership. When asked why the GAE was influential, twelve of the thirteen legislators mentioned local level influence, votes, and attitude toward teachers by the general public. There was an obvious avoidance of giving credit to the state level organization by legislators. The following statements from legislators illustrates the point: "The GAE state leadership is horrible; whatever strength they have belongs to the teachers at the local level." "The GAE and the GSBA are certainly not popular with me; teachers in the local community deserve the credit for whatever progress has been made."

The relationships between members of the state legislature and the SDE in Georgia were very positive. The State Superintendent and the image he projected appeared to be largely responsible for this situation. The legislators we interviewed appeared to identify the SDE as the State Superintendent. When asked who they usually contacted in the SDE for information, twelve of the thirteen legislators indicated Superintendent Nix. Eleven of the thirteen legislators indicated that it was usually the State Superintendent who contacted them when information was requested from the SDE. The vast majority of the legislators we interviewed spoke of the State Superintendent in a praiseworthy fashion. They indicated that of all the department heads in state government, he was by far the most successful in dealing with the legislature. They gave him extremely high scores on the ability to get his program through the legislature.

In our efforts to find out the reasons behind the influence ascribed to Nix we asked the legislators what they thought contributed to his success. They rated the following factors very high: his status as an educational authority, his political "know-how," his ability to supply useful information, and his lobbying effort. A number of legislators stated that his lobbying effort was a tremendous public and human relations approach to the legislature.

Most legislators (12 of 13) indicated that Superintendent Nix was successful most of the time in getting the SDE proposals enacted by the legislature. Three members of the legislature stated that if the State Superintendent was opposed to an education bill, the bill's chances of passage would be greatly diminished.

The amount of interaction between the legislature and the State Board of Education as a board was minimal at best. The communication

between these two groups consisted of the submission of the SBE annual budget request (which is a formalized procedure), a few letters to committees or individual members, and some personal contacts. Six of the thirteen legislators indicated that they did not have any personal contact with state board members. When asked to assess the importance of the SBE in actually formulating and working for educational legislation, none of the thirteen legislators felt the SBE was the single most important participant in the process of formulating and working for educational legislation. Seven of the respondents felt the SBE was one of the most important participants and six legislators felt the SBE was a participant of minor importance.

This was a somewhat mixed appraisal of the influence of the SBE by members of the state legislature. The SBE was seen as even less influential on a more specific question concerning the impact of the SBE on financial legislation. None of the thirteen legislators felt that the SBE played a major or average role in this area. In fact all of the legislators indicated that the SBE played a role of minor to one of no importance in the area of school finance.

Some of the adjectives used in referring to the SBE by members of the legislature as we interviewed them were: "rubber stamp" and "isolated." Members of the legislature projected an attitude that could best be described by the following statement: "The role of the SBE member is for prestige not for input, they are not expected to be active in the process; in fact, if they became political in their actions they would lose respect." It would appear that the actions of the SBE are consistent with the role expectations expressed for them by these actors. Two members of the legislature felt that the fact that the State Superintendent was elected would always relegate the SBE to a secondary role in the process.

The legislators indicated that the Governor had pushed for educational legislation in the areas of early childhood education, vocational education, special education, modest increases in teachers' salaries, and a revision of the Minimum Foundation Program for Education (MFPE). The Governor's program included early childhood education for three and four year olds as well as a program for handicapped children, which was to be partly financed out of federal funds. These programs did not meet with the approval of the legislature. The more conservative members of the legislature thought it was far too ambitious and "painted" it with such phrases as "welfarism" and socialism and labeled it as a glorified Day Care plan that would burden the already overcrowded and over-taxed public school system. The fact that State Superintendent Nix was less than "lukewarm" on the Governor's early childhood program probably helped determine the program's fate in the legislature, which was the approval of a much scaled down program to the one the Governor had envisioned.

The success of the Governor's attempt to rewrite the MFPE program largely carried out by his education advisor, Larry Gess, will probably meet with success only if it does not run into opposition from the State Superintendent. This is not to say that the legislature will accept anything that the Superintendent advocates, but it does seem that if he is strongly opposed to legislation in the field of education its chances of success are greatly diminished. The Governor's style was described as persistent in presenting his legislation. It was pointed out that he argued the merits of his case using a public media approach. The legislators felt that the Governor's chief weaknesses were his lack of political "know-how" in the legislature and that he was unwilling to compromise in most instances. They felt these conditions hurt his overall program.

Members of the legislature, when asked about the basic conflicts that existed in the legislature, indicated that conflict between the spokesmen for the cities and those for the rural areas was of great importance. Legislators further indicated the differing viewpoints of liberals and conservatives were important. Conflicts between political parties and business and labor spokesmen were viewed as being of very little importance.

In summary, in the Georgia General Assembly the Education and Appropriations Committees handle most of the education legislation. The State Superintendent and the State Department of Education are the primary sources of information to these bodies. The legislators do not view state level leadership among education interest groups in a positive fashion but they do see teachers as a group as being influential. The legislators had only a minimum of interaction with the State Board of Education. The influence of the Governor with respect to education legislation has been moderated by the fact that his priorities and those of the State Superintendent have not been in agreement. The unwillingness of the Governor to compromise was, in the view of legislators, a point of further weakness.

The Role of the Governor

We shall now turn from the relationship of the legislature to other actors and describe the interaction of the Governor with those actors. The Governor and his staff have had a rather strained relationship with the SDE and the State Superintendent. These problems seem to be associated with a number of different factors. For one thing Governor Carter has relied more on his own staff for education advice than have former governors. The Governor's office and the SDE are not in agreement on

some education programs, particularly proposals that have come up during the last two years regarding the early childhood education and revisions needed in the Minimum Foundation Program.

Governor Carter feels that provision for an elected State Superintendent is not a good arrangement and according to some of our informants he has stated that he would introduce a bill to change this situation if he thought it stood a chance of passing in the legislature. In the spring of 1973 Governor Carter accused the State Superintendent of catering to the education interest groups because of his need for maintaining a political constituency. This accusation occurred after the legislature allocated more for teacher pay raises than the Governor was in favor of and less for some of the programs he was sponsoring. Apparently, the Governor felt that the State Superintendent should join the Governor in supporting common priorities with the legislature.

It may be that the Governor was attempting to gain greater support for some of his education program by appealing to a pro-Carter faction on the SBE. Some of the State Board members that we interviewed and especially those appointed by Governor Carter admitted that the Governor had called them to his office and solicited their support for his early childhood education program.

The Governor's efforts to openly compete with the State Superintendent for the support of the SBE has been a source of conflict between the two officials. According to many of the members of the SBE, most governors in the past had not engaged in "open courting" of the SBE to the degree that Governor Carter has done.

The Governor's relations with the Georgia Association of Educators (GAE) has been aggravated by the fact that the Governor has not attached the same priority to teacher salary increases as has the Association.

The Governor was not in favor of the 12½ per cent pay increase granted to the teachers in 1972 by the legislature. The GAE asked for an additional 5½ per cent increase in January of 1973, a request the Governor thought was too high given the fact that funds were needed to support other programs that he was advocating. One of the Governor's comments about this running controversy with GAE was, "Everyone seems to be working for teacher benefits; no one seems to be working for programs that are helpful to students. I am going to champion student programs." This, of course, tended to cast the GAE in a self-serving role which increased the hostility between the GAE and the Governor's office.

The legislature did grant the 5½ per cent pay increase which was asked for by the GAE. In addition to granting the teacher pay increase the legislature initially cut 6.7 million out of the education budget which was proposed by the Governor to finance the early childhood education program.

This turn of events reopened most of the hostilities between the Governor's office and other policy actors. In a letter to the Editor in the Atlanta Constitution the President of the League of Women voters said:

> Educators have lobbyists; the financial interest have lobbyists; the hospitals have lobbyists; who lobbies for the children of Georgia? This year's budget provided a modest $6.7 million for the establishment of a statewide kindergarten program over a five year period. At this writing, this money has been deleted from the budget.
>
> With revenue up, everyone has gotten a piece of the pie. Why not a small taste for the children of Georgia?
>
> We urge the General Assembly to restore kindergartens in the budget, not only to help our children but to affect future savings in the higher grades. Let's not do in Georgia's children.[71]

The actions of the legislature in cutting out much of what Governor Carter had asked for in early childhood education was also criticized

by some members of the legislature. State Representative Robert Wheeler, chairman of the House Sub-Committee on Kindergartens, stated:

> I think the State Department made some effort to keep the appropriation, but not much. If they (SDE) had pushed it, I think we could have gotten it.[72]

Representative Wheeler's comments tend to echo the sentiments expressed by Governor Carter, though Wheeler did not openly criticize the State Superintendent.

After the legislature had dealt this severe blow to Governor Carter's education budget proposal the Governor sent a personal letter to the State Superintendent (also released to the press), which was very critical of the SDE and the State Superintendent regarding the posture they had taken toward education priorities. Governor Carter claimed in his letter that Superintendent Nix had failed to back new educational programs, opting instead for the funding of teacher salaries and retirement benefits. The Governor said the Superintendent was in effect putting the needs of the teachers ahead of those of the children. In an interview (Atlanta Constitution, March 5, 1973), when asked why this happened, the Governor stated:

> I think the basic problem is that the State School Superintendent is elected, and his campaign organization is the educational establishment, the administrators and teachers themselves.
>
> I'm not criticizing Jack (Nix) personally, because the system that requires the State School Superintendent to run for re-election presents him with a problem of divided responsibility. Of course, he is responsible for the welfare and salaries and retirement benefits of his own employees.
>
> But it has required him and his predecessors to constantly lay the groundwork for re-election. There is a built-in campaign organization composed of the employees of his department.
>
> And meeting their needs is a pre-eminent consideration. Whenever there is a choice over how to spend a given amount of money--should the child get it? the teacher get it? Invariably in my opinion, the decision is, "Give it to the teacher and the administrator.[73]

Superintendent Nix responded to the letter sent to him by the Governor, by sending a personal letter (also released to the press) stating the Governor's charges were "based on such gross misinformation that it seems inappropriate to attempt to respond."

After this controversy, the legislature did restore some of these cuts in the final appropriation act (H. B. 141) by providing 6.6 million for "Preschool training for the handicapped."

It could be that these differences between the Governor and State Superintendent cannot be fully understood by merely looking at the issues and statements presented here. Both of these actors are elected officials and both play a role within the Democratic party. Superintendent Nix has been State Superintendent since 1966 when he was appointed to an unexpired term by Governor Carl Sanders. Since then he has been elected and re-elected to the position. Governor Carter was a member of the legislature prior to being elected Governor. Some of those interviewed felt that the original source of "conflict" between State Superintendent Nix and Governor Carter was the fact that Superintendent Nix was a supporter of Carl Sanders in the Governor's contest in 1970. It would hardly be fair to leave the reader with the impression that personal political loyalties are the basis for most of this conflict. It does appear that these two important actors hold positions that differ, at times, in terms of their substance or their speed of implementation.

The Role of Education Interest Groups

The major education interest groups in Georgia represent the teachers, the school boards, and the school superintendents. The Georgia Association of Educators has a membership of approximately 43,000 out of a possible membership of 53,000 teachers, principals, and superintendents.

The ongoing business of the organization including lobbying for education legislation is conducted by Carl Hodges, Executive Director; Horace Tate, Associate Executive Secretary; and E. C. Mitchum, the legislative liaison (lobbyist). The Georgia School Boards Association includes 176 of the 189 local boards of education in Georgia. This organization employs an executive secretary and a full-time lobbyist at the state level. The Georgia Association of School Superintendents (GASS) is a department of the GAE. This organization has a membership of 125 Superintendents out of a possible membership of 188. They do not employ any full-time officers or a lobbyist.

Among the education interest groups, clearly the Georgia Association of Educators is the dominant group in terms of policy influence. Reasons for this dominance include its large constituency and corresponding ability to generate grass roots support, its ability to generate useful information, and its lobbying ability. Although the GASS is really an affiliate of the larger GAE, it acts independently on occasion because of differences in organization priorities.

Representatives of each of the above organizations were interviewed. The perceptions and ideas of these representatives can thus be compared with the perceptions and ideas of other policy actors to determine what relationships existed between these interest groups and significant other actors.

According to interest group respondents, there was some consultation between the State Superintendent and their organizations. The two respondents in GSBA and GASS indicated the Superintendent consulted their organizations sometimes. The GAE respondents said that "rarely" does the Superintendent consult their organization on policy matters. Examples

of little consultation were noted by GAE respondents in matters dealing with certification, reform of the Minimum Foundation Program, vocational education planning, and teachers' salaries. Reasons given as to why the Superintendent did not consult with the GAE were these:

> I suppose it is the easiest way to do things sometimes--just go ahead and do them.
>
> Our influence with the SDE is diminishing. The Superintendent operates from a strong position. There is no room for input.
>
> The SDE does not draw on education experts for information. They (the SDE staff) develop their own proposals or simply support Nix.

The State Superintendent indicated that the GAE has only one priority--teacher salaries--while he has several. Nix also said:

> When we feel a proposed policy is of deep concern to an organization we call them in for a presentation. We now have a Board policy that says "any proposed policy change (must be) on the table for 30 days for inspection, examination, etc., by any interest party."[74]

The GAE respondents indicated that they keep the SDE informed of their policy positions. Also they indicated that they have influenced some policy decisions. The respondent of the Georgia Association of School Superintendents indicated that his organization has a great deal of influence--<u>when it is consulted</u>. This respondent commented that Nix has alienated some local superintendents because he has often failed to consult with them. The respondent of the Georgia School Boards Association indicated that his organization had only minimal influence with the State Superintendent.

One GAE respondent indicated that the GAE does not focus its attention on the State Superintendent or the State Department, but rather, on the legislature. It appeared that both Superintendent Nix and the GAE focus on the legislature, and get together when their separate proposals agree or when they need a broader base of support.

The interest group respondents unanimously agreed that the State Board of Education formalizes the recommendations of the State Superintendent. They credit this situation to the fact that it is the Board's "expected role."

The interest group respondents indicated that the GAE and the GSBA are the most influential with the Board. Each was mentioned five times. The GASS was mentioned twice. Two interest group respondents suggested that the Georgia Chamber of Commerce also exercised some influence over Board policy.

The seven state board members interviewed agreed that the GAE was the most influential interest group with the board. Only two members indicated the board seeks the support of interest groups, however. The State Department Board expert said that the SBE does not seek interest group support. He also indicated that there has been no major disagreement between the State Board of Education and any of the interest groups.

Perhaps the most important interest group relationship is that between interest groups and the legislature, especially since it has been indicated that the legislature represents the primary target of their individual and collective efforts. All five of the legislative leader respondents named the GAE as the most influential educational interest group with regard to legislation in the state. The utilities lobby was mentioned several times as an influential noneducation group. Other education groups referred to as having some influence included the GSBA, GASS, and PTA. These groups were considered important primarily because of their constituencies.

According to four of the five legislative leaders, the educational interest groups usually act in unison and speak with one voice on most legislative issues. Some legislative issues tend to divide the interest

groups, however. Among those mentioned by legislative leaders were tenure, teacher salaries, and accountability. The GAE and the GSBA tend to divide particularly on teacher salary issues, a labor management type of disagreement. There was unanimous agreement that there has been no issue in which important educational and noneducational groups have worked together. However, the Municipal League, the Farm Bureau and the County Commissioners get involved in finance concerns because of their interest in taxes. As one legislative leader put it "they (noneducation groups) get involved when a piece of the pie is at stake."

Eight legislative committee members were interviewed, and all eight named the GAE as the most influential education lobby. The GSBA was also mentioned frequently, but it was usually indicated that its influence was significantly less than GAE. Reasons for GAE influence include, among others:

(1) The size of the organization--"it has a large constituency at the grass roots level, and that means votes."

(2) The quality of the organization--"it is a unified organization working year round to achieve goals," and "They are highly organized--constantly working and lobbying. They can generate statewide teacher support."

Four of the legislative committee members felt that the educational interest groups acted in unison and spoke with one voice on all legislative issues, a rating of 1 on a 4 point scale; two suggested unison on "most" issues, 2 on the same scale; and, two suggested unison on "some" issues, 3 on the same scale.

The legislators all agree that the GAE, GSBA, SBE, and the SDE almost always act together on legislative issues and the sole reason given was that they all have a common interest--education. One legislator commented, "It furthers their basic interest to keep education

closed to the outside." Another gave this interesting comment, "The GAE leads the charge--the others agree, or just follow."

Legislative committee leaders--six of eight--do not believe that education and noneducation groups work together on important legislative issues. The two that disagreed state that the vocational education issue has involved noneducation groups as has the sales tax issue. They cited the State Chamber of Commerce, the Municipal Association, and the County Commissioners Association as examples. The primary interest of these noneducation groups was attributed to tax interests. The vocational education involvement appeared to represent interests other than tax concerns for noneducation groups, i.e., labor supply.

Of particular interest is the development of an educational coalition in Georgia. The education interest groups appeared to be highly united on education issues according to legislators. One reason for this response may be found in unity exhibited in the recent formation of an education coalition entitled GUE--Georgians United for Education. The GUE membership includes the Georgia Association of Educators, the Georgia Association of School Superintendents, Georgia Congress of Parents and Teachers, the Georgia School Boards Association, and the Georgia Department of Education.

GUE was formed to stimulate greater statewide cooperate and provide stronger legislative impetus for areas of common concern in Georgia education. It is also responsible for focusing attention on these important matters in both the news media and the legislature.[75]

Jack Acree, Executive Secretary of the GSBA, has been the motivating force behind the organization. His interest has been in cultivating cooperation between and among the GSBA and other education groups. He has involved the State Superintendent of Schools, the officers of the GAE,

the President of the Georgia Association of School Superintendents, the President of the Georgia PTA, and the President of the Georgia School Boards Association in a commitment to cooperative legislative effort. Each year GUE will publish the legislative priorities which the whole group can agree upon, and will then disseminate information on these priorities to all interest parties.

The education interest groups in Georgia were apparently committed to the concept of the "united approach." Although legislative comments suggested that these groups have always been united, in fact there have been some differences. The GUE may serve to give such groups as the GSBA and the GASS more input into state education policy making process.

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION

The actor that has emerged in this case study as playing the chief role in education policy decisions in Georgia has been the State Superintendent. Why is this? First of all, the State Superintendent in Georgia is elected, which means that this individual must be intimately involved in state politics as a way of achieving the office. We were told by many respondents that a person was elected to this position by developing a broad base of support and creditability among the local teacher groups and local administrators throughout the state. It appeared to us that the State Superintendent had indeed maintained the support of teachers and administrators. The second factor that seemed to contribute to the significant role played by this particular State Superintendent was his personal style in dealing with the other actors. The State Superintendent seemed to have a very close and warm personal relationship with a great many members of the Georgia legislature. The State Superintendent indicated to us that he spent hours answering legislator's questions when budget hearings were being held each year. But more than the performance of these professional tasks, we were struck by the personal manner in which the Superintendent dealt with the legislators. He knew their districts and the problems of those districts. He spent time socializing and becoming familiar with individual legislators. In short, he seemed to enjoy association with the legislators and in meeting their requests. It is also apparent that the

State Superintendent viewed the legislature as the crucial arena of education decision making, one calling forth his best efforts.

Governors in the past, according to respondents in the SDE, have not disagreed strongly or taken positions that were at odds with those of the SDE and the State Superintendent. This has not been the case with Governor Carter. Teachers' salaries have risen rather significantly in the state in recent years but these increases have brought opposition from the Governor, particularly when raises have tended to prevent the implementation of other education programs. Governor Carter has enunciated his support for certain education programs, particularly early childhood education. Though his programs have not been completely opposed, the scope and speed of implementation which he has sought have been either opposed or countered by the GAE, the legislature, and the State Superintendent. To some, it appears that opposition to Governor Carter's program is really a clash between more liberal and more conservative philosophies within the Georgia system.

The Governor has alienated the GAE by arguing that the system is constantly pouring funds into teacher and administrator salaries at the expense of program improvement. The Governor has fought openly with the State Superintendent over educational priorities. The fact that Governor Carter has expressed a preference for an appointed State Superintendent and the fact that the State Superintendent appears to have more "clout" in the legislature on education matters than the Governor have all contributed to less than a harmonious relation between these two actors in the system.

We see the legislature in Georgia as in something of a dependent position. The inadequate staff of this body, the rather rapid turnover rate of members, relatively low salaries, lack of work space and research facilities, plus the large amount of time that is consumed by locally

oriented legislation do not make for an independent body. The legislators appear to be heavily influenced by local school people and by the State Superintendent. Some of the influence of the State Superintendent may be inherent in the structure, but much of it seems to reside in the individual presently filling the office. We are suggesting that legislators are dependent and responsive to some authority. This could be the Governor, an interest group leader, or the State Superintendent; currently, other potential leaders run a poor second to the State Superintendent.

In looking at the role of the education interest groups in Georgia, we find that the GAE plays a much more significant role than any other group. The GSBA plays only a minor role, but it is becoming more active. The GAE power was almost solely associated with the influence of local teachers and school people. The criticism of the state level leadership of the GAE by legislators was more severe than we expected given our experience in other states. The education interest groups, while maintaining a cooperative relationship with the SDE, seemed to focus on the legislature as the more important arena. Given the nature of their priorities, that is teacher benefits, this would necessarily be the case. While both the GAE and GASB work closely with SDE in developing their legislative priorities and strategies, they cannot expect the SDE to reflect the same priorities. The Georgians United for Education (GUE) is the education coalition in which the legislative priorities and positions of the SDE, GAE, and GSBA are discussed. GUE does publish a list of legislative priorities which the participating members have agreed not to oppose even though a particular member may not push them.

Visible opposition to the programs of the GAE and GSBA generally comes from the Governor's office or from individual members of the

legislature. The SDE and State Superintendent rarely become the center of opposition to GAE or GSBA programs. But the SDE could be supporting an alternative proposal that might compete with or contribute to the defeat of a GAE or GSBA proposal.

The State Board of Education, though appointed by the Governor, in the past has, by and large, reflected the SDE position on most matters and has been very supportive of the elected State Superintendent. This body has more formal policy making power than is reflected by the role it has played. The current Governor has disturbed but little the previously existing harmony between the SBE and the State Superintendent by attempting to influence and win endorsements from the SBE for his educational priorities.

The key actors in respect to school finance in Georgia were the legislature (Appropriations Committee), the State Superintendent, the Governor, and the GAE. The process of making policy decisions on certification was carried out within the education arena (SDE, EIG's, SBE, and universities) with the SBE acting in the legitimating role. The accountability issue has attracted the attention of most of the actors in the system. Failure to reach agreement on this issue has revolved around the fears associated with accountability and the lack of a clear definition of what concepts should be included under the term accountability. The desegregation issue in Georgia currently revolves around the concept of busing. The State Superintendent and SBE have taken a highly visible position in opposition to busing.

The judged influence of the key actors in the Georgia education decision making arena are shown in Table 8. The judged influence of each actor or group of actors on each of the four issues we researched are shown. The composite score represents the influence of that group across all four issues.

TABLE 8

JUDGED INFLUENCE OF MAJOR ACTORS ON FOUR EDUCATIONAL ISSUES IN GEORGIA

Actor/ Group	Finance Issue	Certification Issue	Accountability Issue	Desegregation Issue	Composite Score
State Superintendent and SDE	3	3	3	3	12
SBE	1	2	1	2	6
Governor	3	0	2	0	5
Legislature	3	0	3	2	8
Education Interest Group	3	2	3	0	8

3 - very important, 2 - important, 1 - minor importance, and 0 - not involved.

The State Superintendent clearly emerges in this evaluation as playing the most salient role when looking at all of the issues. The relatively weak score of the SBE can partially be explained by its rather poor scores on the two issues which were decided by the legislature, finance and accountability. The Governor's role, on the other hand, tends to emerge on those issues which confront the legislature and diminishes on the other two issues. The role of the EIG's on the two legislative issues (Finance and Accountability) was significant, but in these two instances the potential impact on teachers was the major issue.

If State Departments and State Superintendents choose to become more involved in the political process in the future in advancing the interest of education, it appears that the State Superintendent and SDE in Georgia have something to say to other states.

FOOTNOTES

[1]For a full discussion of the methodology used in this study see, Roald F. Campbell and Tim L. Mazzoni, Jr., Investigating State Education Policy Systems: Methodological Approach and Research Framework. (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University, 1972).

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[3]The material relating to Georgia's geographic and environmental conditions was taken from State Development Policy Plan Executive Summary (Atlanta: Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1972), pp. 1-4.

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[5]U. S. Census 1970, Ibid.

[6]Joseph L. Bernd, "Georgia Static and Dynamic," in The Changing Politics of the South, ed. by William C. Havard (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969), p. 308

[7]U. S. Census 1970, op. cit.

[8]State Development Policy Plan Executive Summary, op. cit., p. 12.

[9]U. S. Census 1970, op. cit.

[10]U. S. Census 1970, Ibid.

[11]U. S. Census 1970, Ibid.

[12]State Development Policy Plan Executive Summary, op. cit., p. 5.

[13]State Development Policy Plan Executive Summary, op. cit., p. 5.

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[15]Daniel Elazar, American Federalism: A View from the States (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1966), pp. 79-116.

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[19]Brett W. Hawkins, "Consequences of Reapportionment in Georgia," in State and Urban Politics, edited by Richard I. Hofferbert and Ira Sharkansky (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971).

[20]V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949), p. 106.

[21]Much of this account is taken from Joseph L. Bernd, op. cit., pp. 294-296.

[22]Ibid., p. 296.

[23]Ibid., p. 296.

[24]Ibid., p. 296.

[25]Ibid., p. 115.

[26]Albert B. Saye, op. cit., pp. 412-419.

[27]Joseph L. Bernd, op. cit., pp. 358-361.

[28]Ibid., p. 361.

[29]Ibid., p. 361.

[30]Ibid., p. 277.

[31]Ibid., p. 278.

[32]Ibid., p. 279.

[33]Albert B. Saye, op. cit., pp. 401-402.

[34]Strengthening the Georgia General Assembly, Citizens Committee on the Georgia General Assembly (Athens, Georgia: Institute of Government, The University of Georgia, 1970).

[35]Tim C. Ryles, "A Typology on the Functions of the Georgia General Assembly," in Strengthening the Georgia General Assembly: Research Papers (Athens, Georgia: Institute of Government, The University of Georgia, 1970), p. 30.

[36]Hugh Maxwell Thomason, "The Legislative Process in Georgia," Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (Atlanta, Georgia: Emory University, 1961).

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[38]Austin Ranney's "Parties in State Politics," in Politics in the American States, H. Jacob and K. Vines, eds. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971), pp. 82-121.

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[49]Georgia School Laws, Ibid.

[50]Policies and Executive Procedures, State of Georgia: Board of Education and State Superintendent (Atlanta: Georgia Department of Education, 1972).

[51]Georgia School Laws, op. cit.

[52]For the manner of calculating the minimum financial needs for each sub-program see Georgia Code Annotated, 32-601-32-661.

[53]"Relative Contributions of State, Local, and Federal Government to Revenues for Public Schools," in Rankings of the States, 1973 (Washington, D. C.: NEA Research Division, 1973), pp. 49-50.

[54]Thomas L. Johns and Janet S. Foerster, eds., Public School Finance Program 1971-1972: States, District of Columbis, and Outlying Areas (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare 1972).

[55]"Relative Contributions of State, Local, and Federal Government to Revenues for Public Schools," in Rankings of the States, op. cit., pp. 49-50.

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[60]Jack P. Nix, State Superintendent of Schools, speech to School Administrators, July 16, 1972, Jekyll Island, Georgia, "Accountability--Issues and Answers."

[61]Ibid.

[62]Jack P. Nix, State Superintendent of Schools Speech to Bibb County Teachers, Macon, Georgia, August 25, 1972.

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[67]Georgia State Board of Education Minutes, September, 1971.

[68]Interview with State Superintendent Jack Nix, February, 1973.

[69]Interview with Larry Gess of the Governor's staff, February, 1973.

[70]Interview with State Board Member, February, 1973.

[71]Atlanta Constitution, March 14, 1973.

[72]Atlanta Constitution, March 5, 1973.

[73] Atlanta Constitution, March 5, 1973.

[74] Interview with State Superintendent, February, 1973.

[75] What are the Major Legislative Objectives of Georgians United for Education, Jack Acree (Atlanta, Georgia: Georgia School Boards Association, 1973).